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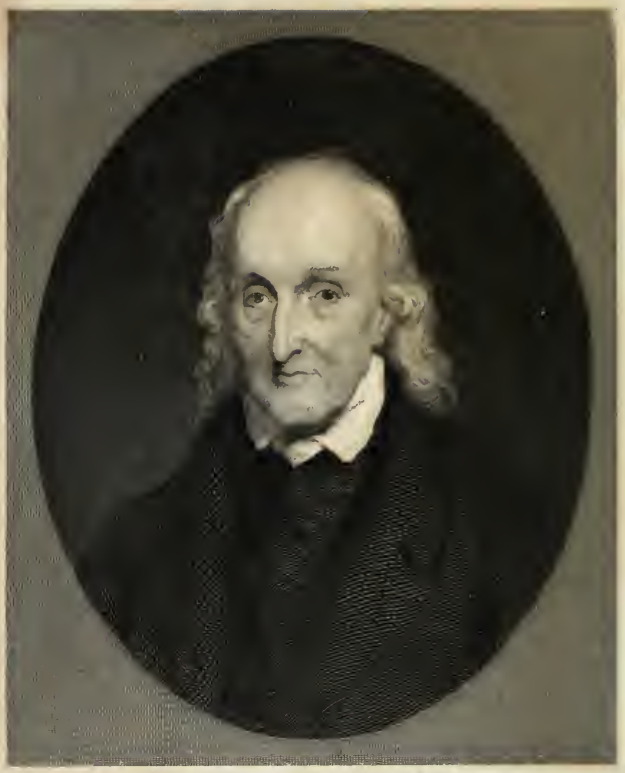

MEMOIR OF THE LIFE

OF THE RIGHT REVEREND

WILLIAM WHITE, D.D.,

BISHOP

OF THE

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

IN THE

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

BY

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PHILADELPHIA:

JAMES KAY, JUN. & BROTHER, 122 CHESTNUT STREET.

PITTSBURGH:—C. H. KAY & CO.

1839.

Entered, according to the act of congress, in the year 1839, by James Kay, Jun. & Brother, in the office of the clerk of the district court of the United States in and for the eastern district of Pennsylvania.

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PREFACE.

The preparation of the following Memoir was undertaken by the Author at the request of the Family of Bishop White, and also of a meeting of the Episcopal Clergy of the city of Philadelphia and its neighbourhood, together with some of their brethren who had come from other dioceses to attend his funeral held on the 21st of July 1836, a few days after the Bishop's decease. As soon as his papers could be examined, and other materials collected, the work was commenced, and was delivered in a state for publication in September 1837. The authentic materials from which it has been composed, are stated or referred to in the course of the Memoir itself, and need not be here particularly detailed. I have only to express my acknowledgements to Dr William H. Hobart, for the obliging readiness with which he favoured me with the letters of Dr White to his father, the late Bishop Hobart, in the course of an extensive

and long continued correspondence between them. Unexpected delay has occurred in the publication of the Memoir. It was prepared with an intention of prefixing it to the proposed collection of the Bishop's Posthumous Works, and was consequently affected by the difficulties connected with so extensive an undertaking. This circumstance will account for the delay stated, and also for some expressions and references which will be found in the text and notes suggested by the expected connection of the Memoir with those works; and which it has not been thought necessary to expunge, though the Memoir is now published separately.

B. W.

Theological Seminary, New York, August 10, 1839.

EMBELLISHMENTS.

1. Engraving and Portrait of Bishop White (taken in 1834), from the original Picture, by Inman, in the possession of the Right Reverend George W. Doane, D.D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the state of New Jersey.

2. Fac-Simile of Bishop White's Handwriting—the Record of Bishops consecrated by him.

3. Engraving of Bishop White's Study, from the Original Painting by Sartain.

MEMOIR

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The life of the subject of this Memoir, extended to a length much exceeding the period usually allowed to man, was passed in the retired and unostentatious performance of the duties of his sacred profession in the same city and parish. No great variety of incidents, affecting himself individually, can therefore be reasonably expected. But there are still circumstances which may render a detail of his principles and conduct through life interesting to every reader; but especially to those who have enjoyed the pleasure and advantage of social or official intercourse with him. To these the interest will be increased by the tender and respectful feelings associated with their recollections of him: and to all, there will be supplied sources of gratification and improvement in the exhibition of a character of uncommon excellence, dignity

and loveliness; and in a history of the part which the revered possessor of it was led to take in the civil affairs of his country, during an eventful and trying period; and more particularly in the concerns of an important branch of the Christian Church; in reviving, organizing and establishing which, after it had been nearly extinct in consequence of the calamities caused by the war of the revolution, he was, under Providence, a leading, able and influential agent; and which he lived to behold in a state of prosperity and stability greater than his most sanguine expectations anticipated.

As Bishop White lived to a very advanced age, and survived all those intimately acquainted with him in early life; and as no remains have been discovered of any correspondence which may have then taken place; it would have been difficult, and probably impracticable, at this time, to obtain more than a very meagre account of the incidents of that period of his existence. Happily, the probability of the occurrence of such difficulty was foreseen by his friend, the late Bishop Hobart; at whose request he reduced to writing, in a letter directed to that gentleman dated in September 1819, a brief account of the events of his life, until the commencement of the proceedings for organizing the Church, after the peace of 1783. From that letter, together with some additional statements in the form of notes, appended to a copy of it retained by himself, and written in 1830, after the death of Bishop Hobart, this Memoir of the period

above mentioned will be almost entirely composed; only a few facts having been gleaned from other sources.

The letter commences with this characteristic remark: "A few years ago you requested of me to prepare for you some notices of the most material circumstances of my early life. Compliance was intended, but has been delayed, in common with many things which may be done at any time. It is now undertaken, with a protest against being understood to believe, that there have been such events as can make up a volume of biography; otherwise than by the help of that art of book-making, which has been much employed of late years on private history; but the exercise of which I should be sorry to foresee, on a life of so little variety or celebrity as mine."

The autobiography of a man so distinguished and beloved, in the very language in which he had himself thought fit to clothe it, may probably be eagerly desired. But it has not been deemed proper so to publish it, in consequence of his own expressed wish that it should not be. Nor would it be found to possess an attraction equal to what might be expected. A characteristic feature in the Bishop's disposition disqualified him for the task of writing a memoir of himself which would be perused with lively interest. The feature alluded to is his great modesty, and strong aversion from every thing approaching to self-display; an aversion which always distinguished him, and seemed even to increase with advancing age. The

consequence has been, that while the incidents immediately affecting himself are related with brevity, and in very simple language, those affecting the various contemporaries, of whom he has taken notice, are detailed in a more full, free and engaging manner. Passages of the latter kind will be transferred very liberally into these pages, in the language used by the Bishop himself. The others will be employed in such a way, and with such enlargements, as will be better adapted to exhibit his character, and the spirit and principles by which he was governed.

His subsequent life was so identified with the general history of the Church over which he so long presided, as to warrant a full detail of that history since the revolution. But so extensive a design is little suited to the situation and duties of the author, or to his opportunities of collecting the materials, within a reasonable period. He therefore does not profess to give such a history. The history of our Church will be only so far introduced as may be necessary to illustrate the talents and disposition of the Bishop; his useful services; the spirit and principles on which he acted, and the steadiness and consistency with which he maintained and pursued them.

William White was born in Philadelphia, on the 24th day of March, the last day of the year 1747, old style, and corresponding with the 4th of April 1748, according to the new style. His father, Colonel Thomas White, was a native of London; but having

in infancy lost his father, was separated from his family, at the age of sixteen, to seek his fortune in Maryland, without any pecuniary aid or outfit, except an apprentice fee of one hundred guineas. The slenderness of this provision was a consequence of his father's having dissipated his property, and died at an early period of life, leaving his wife and six children (of whom Thomas was next to the youngest) in straitened circumstances. Thomas was bound apprentice to a Mr Stokes, who at that time happened to be in England, and was clerk of the county of Baltimore, then extending to the Susquehanna. The apprenticeship took place under a belief that Mr Stokes was a professional lawyer; which was, however, a mistake. This gentleman his apprentice accompanied to Maryland, and on the expiration of the apprenticeship became his deputy. Having purchased and studied law books, Mr White commenced practice in the legal profession, and was successful. With his gains he was fortunate in purchasing lands, then cheap: a considerable proportion of those in that country remaining vacant, not having been yet taken up from the proprietary office. He had the advantage of holding, at this favourable time, the office of surveyor of the county, which, with other county offices, was conferred upon him by Governor Ogle. He was also one of the two colonels of the militia of the county. With Governor Ogle he possessed considerable influence; and his intercourse with that gentleman was followed by a similar one with the succeeding gover-

nor, Sharpe. The latter was twice in Philadelphia while William was a boy, and lodged each time in Colonel White's house. One of the occasions was not long after Braddock's defeat, to attend a meeting of the governors of certain provinces: the other was on the controversy between the proprietaries of Pennsylvania and Maryland, concerning the boundaries of their provinces.

At an early period of life Colonel White married the daughter of Colonel Edward Hall, a man of very extensive property in Baltimore county. Some of the best farms, in the division of it now named Harford, are still held by his descendants. Two of the children of this marriage lived to be women; of whom one died single, at about the age of forty, and the other married her cousin, Mr Aquila Hall. There are now numerous descendants from her in Harford county.

Colonel White removed to the city of Philadelphia when about forty-two years of age, being then a widower, and two years after married Esther, the widow of a Mr John Newman. Her maiden name was Hewlings, and she was of a family in Burlington, New Jersey; left in straitened circumstances, but without any child. Her ancestors of that name were among the early settlers of west Jersey, under the purchase made by William Penn, before the settlement of Pennsylvania. Although among emigrants principally of the Quaker society, they were, and have been all along, of the Episcopal Church. They were reputable in the middle stations of life; but the name

no longer exists in the family, except in an individual instance, though there are many descendants from the female branches.

The only children of Colonel White, by this second marriage, were William, the subject of this Memoir, and his sister Mary, one year younger than he. This lady became the wife of Robert Morris, Esq., who, after being a member of congress under the articles of confederation, and of the legislature of the state of Pennsylvania, conducted, with distinguished ability and reputation, the financial concerns of the United States during the revolutionary war; and afterwards filled the office of senator, in congress, from Pennsylvania, under the existing constitution. Colonel White died in September 1779, at the age of seventy-five. His widow survived him until the last day of the year 1790, and died in her seventy-first year. Their son thus speaks of them, in his letter to Bishop Hobart: "There can be no impropriety in my here bearing of testimony to the merits of my parents. My father left the world with the reputation of unsullied integrity through life; and I think, I may say that, he possessed a remarkably correct judgment of men and things. In his domestic character he was indulgent and exemplary. During the last twenty-two years of his life, he was so far a cripple, in consequence of a fall from a carriage, as to walk on two canes with handles. This kept him out of all society, except such as could be had at his own hospitable table and fireside; and, except in afternoons, of some of the

principal gentlemen of the city, of his own age, who, in those days, habitually assembled at the public coffee-house, for society merely. My mother, if I am not misled by partiality, possessed an excellent understanding, with sincere, but unostentatious piety." In a note is added: "In my letter to Bishop Hobart, I said the less concerning my honoured mother, as she must have been within his remembrance. But I ought not to introduce the mention of her in this note, without the acknowledgement of the early impressions on my young mind from her religious instructions; for which I owe gratitude to her memory, and to the grace of God for the benefit received from them."

At the age of seven, William White was transferred from the school of a mistress to the English school of the newly erected College of Philadelphia, of which his father was a trustee, having been so from the commencement of the institution, while it was yet only an academy. "The master of the school was Mr Ebenezer Kinnersley, who often appears in the early works of Dr Franklin, as a co-operator with him in his electrical experiments." When about ten years old, William went into the Latin school of the college, the master of which was Mr Paul Jackson, "a man considered as possessed of a fine genius, and of classical attainments." But he soon after left the school; which proved a misfortune to his young pupil. For his successor, Mr John Beveridge, "a thorough grammarian, with little else to recommend him," found it convenient to reduce the number of his classes; and

in consequence that of William White was elevated to the one above it; passing from the beginning of an easy book to the latter part of a difficult one, to boys of their standing. "I record this incident," says the Bishop, in his letter, "for the purpose of censuring this, and every similar expedient, for the hastening of boys through grammar schools; which is frequent." When he arrived at the age of thirteen, his class was examined for college by the provost, and the vice-provost. Three were rejected, but he was not one of them. Notwithstanding which, he did not then enter a college class, in consequence of his father's prohibition. This was, at the time, felt by him to be humiliating, although softened by the permission, granted at his father's request, that he should be with the head class in the Latin school in one part of the day only, and spend the other part in the school in which arithmetic was taught, and in which, usually, one hour of the day only was spent by that class. But he afterwards reflected upon it with satisfaction, as one among the many instances which he recollected of the sound discretion of his father, and was persuaded that, had it not been for this postponement, he would not have gone through college with reputation. And he remarks, "there have since occurred frequent occasions of comparing the conduct of my father with that of others, much to their disadvantage." In the next year he entered college, in which he continued three years, and passed through the various studies with reputation. He left it just when he had completed

his seventeenth year: his examination, previous to graduating, being finished on his birth-day, in 1765, although the commencement did not take place until a month after.

During his collegiate course, the provost and vice-provost were Dr William Smith and Dr Francis Allison; but, at the juncture of his entering college, the former embarked for England, "on his well conducted and successful mission of collecting for it;" and his place was supplied, during two years, by Mr (afterwards Dr) Ewing: but the provost returned in the beginning of the third year. Of Dr Smith and Dr Ewing, only the following remark occurs in the letter to Bishop Hobart. "As the talents of these reverend gentlemen are well known by subsequent occurrences; and as they were living for several years after your arrival at the age of manhood, they have no need of any thing from my pen, to inform you of their characters." Of Dr Allison, he remarks: "The vice-provost being long since deceased, and there being few remaining who were personally acquainted with his merits, I avail myself of the opportunity of expressing the opinion, that in addition to his unquestionable ability in his department, he was a man of sterling integrity, of real and rational piety in the Presbyterian communion, of which he was a minister, and singularly liberal minded. His only visible fault was proneness to anger, which, however, was always accompanied by generosity and placability." One of the notes added to the said letter, in 1830, relates to Dr Smith, and is

here inserted. "It may seem to require to be accounted for, that neither here, nor in the many places following, recording transactions in which the Rev. Dr Smith bore a conspicuous part, there should be said so little concerning either his agency or his character. He was provost of the college when I entered the lowest school of its academy, at the age of seven, and when I left the seminary, at the age of seventeen. Besides other causes of frequent intercourse, I was connected with him as a trustee of the college, from the year 1774. I also united with him in the opposition made to the act of assembly of 1779,* and in his subsequent endeavours for the repeal of it; which, but for his labours and perseverance, would probably never have been effected, notwithstanding the justice of the cause. His talents are in no need of my recommendation; and had they been devoted to literature, and not too much directed to politics, and to speculations in land, there is no knowing the measure of celebrity which might be thought too great to be attained to. Why, then, the reserve in the letter? It was owing to this. In the beginning of the organizing of our Church, I thought it my duty to oppose myself to his being recommended by the general convention to the episcopacy, to which he had been elected by the convention of Maryland; and to me his failure was

* By this act the estate and powers of the trustees of the College of Philadelphia were taken from them, and vested in the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, thereby erected. The subject will be hereafter explained.

principally owing. My reasons are not detailed, partly because there has been no reproach cast on me on that account, and partly because, in our frequent collisions, I ought not to claim the commendation of an impartial narrator. During his subsequent years, we were on very amicable terms; and he manifested his confidence in me by associating me with his brother, and with Jasper Yeates, Esq., in a trusteeship of certain lands, conveyed to us by a deed of gift in favour of his younger daughter. In his will he bequeathed to me a ring."

On leaving college the final choice of his profession engaged William White's attention, and he was led to decide in favour of the ministry.

It has been thought that the bent of the genius, and the probable future pursuits in life, are sometimes indicated by the amusements most attractive in early youth. A few circumstances of that nature, occurring while he was very young, have been communicated to me. They were repeatedly related by a lady who was his intimate playmate from a very early age, and about a year and a half older than he was; a daughter of Mr Stephen Pascal,* a member of the society of† Friends, residing in the house adjoining Colonel

* Afterwards married to Mr Levi Hollingsworth, and the mother of my brother-in-law. She died only a few years before the Bishop. The circumstances were communicated by Mrs Susan Eckard.

† Dr White was much esteemed and beloved by the members of that society. After he became a bishop, it was not uncommon for some of them, even of the most plain and strict, to speak of him as "*our* good bishop."

White's. That lady bore testimony to his early piety, and was wont to say, when she was herself advanced in life, "Billy White" (so she continued to call him) "was born a bishop. I never could persuade him to play any thing but church. He would tie his own or my apron round his neck, for a gown, and stand behind a low chair, which he called his pulpit; I, seated before him on a little bench, was the congregation; and he always preached to me about being good. One day," she added, "I heard him crying, and saw him running into the street, and the nurse-maid after him, calling to him to come back and be dressed. He refused, saying, I do not want to go to dancing-school, and I won't be dressed, for I don't think it is good to learn to dance. And that was the only time I ever knew Billy White to be a naughty boy." The lady who gave me these anecdotes, and in whose own language nearly they are related, added that she had the pleasure of repeating these reminiscences of his childhood to the Bishop: they amused him; and he told her that his mother, finding that he was so averse to learning to dance, gave it up; "though," he said, "I am by no means opposed to others learning, if they like to dance."

The circumstances which led to his final determination, after leaving college, to enter into the ministry, will be most satisfactorily stated in his own language. They manifest the reflecting mind, calm and sound judgment, and nice sense of moral and religious obligation, remarkable at so early an age, and which

always distinguished him through every period of his life. And they comprehend several interesting facts, relative to the state of religion in this country, at the time.

"It may be recorded with truth," he observes, "but let it be with humility, and with sorrow for innumerable failures, and for the having fallen far short of what was due to the advantages of early years, that there is not recollected any portion of my life, during which I was altogether regardless of the obligations of religion, or neglectful of the duty of prayer. But in about the middle of my sixteenth year, there occurred some circumstances, particularly the decease of an amiable young lady, of my own age, but in whom I had not felt any further interest than as an acquaintance of my sister. This event gave to my mind a tendency to religious exercises and inquiries; which were also promoted by its being understood that a visit was to be expected from the Rev. George Whitfield. His former visits had been principally before my birth; and the last of them had been when I was too young to have retained the recollection of his person. His coming, at this time, caused religion to be more than commonly a subject of conversation; and this added to the existing tendency of my mind. I heard him with great delight, in his wonderful elocution; although informed that it was greatly impaired by the state of his health, which evidently affected his throat, and had swelled his person, reported to have been naturally slender. Under this disadvantage, his

force of emphasis, and the melodies of his tones and cadences, exceeded what I have ever witnessed in any other person. It is a proof how much depends on the mechanical part of us, and on sympathy excited by occasional incidents, that although the preaching of Mr Whitfield must have had the same general complexion, and been at least as well considered as in former years, there was nothing seen under it of those agitations which were still subjects of report. Whether it were owing to this cause, or to my being otherwise fortified, I found myself in no danger of being one of his converts. The first consideration which weakened his authority with me was, a comparison of his obligations assumed at ordination, with his utter disregard of them; a subject new to me when his case presented it. Subsequently to this period, when I considered the questions between the divines of the Church of England and those of the Puritan separation, although I disapproved of the scrupulousness of the latter, not without lamenting the unbending attitude of the former, the relaxing of which would probably have broken the party, by detaching the honest from the factious; yet there appeared respectability in the plea of conscientious refusal. The impression has been often since revived, to the disadvantage of some who have intruded within our pale, without such a plea for their irregularity.

"That Mr Whitfield had some expedient, reconciling his mind to his deviations, cannot reasonably be doubted. But in consideration of what he has said in

print, of his having been carried away by impressions and feelings, it is not uncharitable to class his case among the many in which enthusiasm, consistently with general good intention, leads to results not consistent with moral obligation. Of the effect, in former times, of his violation of the order of the Church, there was evidence in the many families who were known to have been drawn from it by becoming followers of his ministry. Facts also were related, which had a tendency to caution against the delusions of sudden impressions and violent agitations; it being remembered of many, that they had been subjects of such extravagances, without any lasting effect, either on their religious state or on their moral conduct; and of many others, that they had been similarly affected, and continued to be professors of religion, but of such a sort, as not to induce in me an inclination to resemble them. These things did not hinder the observing of some persons, who had received their first impressions under the display of the extraordinary elocution of Mr Whitfield. That this was the engine by which he wrought such wonders, must be evident to all who have perused his printed sermons. Of his disinterestedness, and of his generous affections, there is here entertained no doubt.

"He made another visit to this country in the year 1770. When he was on his way from Philadelphia to Boston, late in the summer, he had been prevailed on to promise to cross from Bristol to Burlington, and to preach there. I happened to be in the latter, and staying

in the house of a relative, when it was announced that Mr Whitfield was at a tavern on the other side of the river. He was expected to be escorted by my relative. I went with him; and we returned in a boat with Mr Whitfield and his company. He preached to the assembled citizens, in the front of the court-house, and afterwards dined at the house of my relative. During dinner, he was almost the only speaker, as was said to be common; all present being disposed to listen. This narrative has been given for the introduction of one of his speeches; which may be seen to show a great change from his early track of sentiment. The speech was: 'In Heaven I expect to see Charles the First, Oliver Cromwell and Archbishop Laud, singing halleluiahs together.' Mr Whitfield would not have said this in the days in which he inveighed against Archbishop Tillotson from the pulpit. It was but a few weeks after, and a few days before my embarking for England, on the 15th of October, when tidings reached Philadelphia of the death of this celebrated man, in Massachusetts."

In one of the appended notes, the Bishop adds: "It has been urged, in favour of the animal feelings excited by the preaching of Mr Whitfield, and of other preachers of the same stamp, that however many the subsequent declensions, a portion of the converts are reclaimed from sin, and continue faithful. The question of the expediency of any specified mean of conversion should rest, not on this ground, but on Scripture, in alliance with the dictates of reason and of

prudence. But the fact being presumed, before admission of the inference there should be a probable estimate of the number of persons, who are brought to a religious state and a suitable life, by a preaching not attended by the extravagances referred to, and whom the other would rather repel; and further, how many, after having been captivated by this, and after having traced it to its causes in sympathy and animal organization, resolve all religious feeling into delusion, and live and die impenitent. So far as my personal observation extends, what are sometimes called revivals would suffer much by the comparison."

Let it be recollected that the personal observation here mentioned, had extended through a life of eighty-two years; and that his situation during the greater part of this period, afforded him advantageous means of correct observation. The sentiments early impressed upon the Bishop's mind, on the subjects noticed, were consistently maintained by him through life, and received increased confirmation from his long experience and attention to human nature.

Before his graduation, it was expected that his views would be directed to the ministry. This circumstance, even then, and still more afterwards, drew to him the kind attention of the clergy; particularly of Dr Peters and Mr Duché, the rector and one of the assistant ministers of Christ Church and St Peter's, to the former of which his family belonged. The only means of instruction and direction in the proper course of study, then possessed by candidates for orders in

America, were furnished by the voluntary private aid of the clergy; and what advantages, in this respect, were enjoyed by William White, will be understood from his own statement.

"Although I shall always remember those two gentlemen" (Dr Peters and Mr Duché) "with respect and affection, on account of their merits and of their kindness to me; yet there was in each of them a singularity of religious character, which lessened the profit of an intercourse with them.

"Dr Peters was a native of England, and had come to this country nearly forty years before the time now spoken of. He was then a young clergyman, of a respectable family in Liverpool, of an excellent education, and of polished manners. It was said that his acquaintance had been cultivated by the genteelest families in the city; but that, being no favourite with the then rector of Christ Church, the Rev. Archibald Cummings, he accepted from the proprietary government the secretaryship of the land office, which laid the foundation of a considerable fortune. He was also secretary to a succession of governors; and continued to be of the governor's council until his decease. At an age turned of sixty, he gave up his lucrative offices, and became more serious in religious concerns, than at any former period of his life; although his morals had been correct, his attendance on public worship constant and solemn, and his preaching occasional. Soon after, the rectorship of the church becoming vacant by the decease of the Rev. Dr Jenney, the suc-

cessor of Mr Cummings, Mr Peters* was chosen to it. The singularity alluded to, was his adopting of the notions of Jacob Behmen and William Law; in consequence of which his sermons were not always understood. In social discourse, he could be exceedingly entertaining, on any ordinary, and on any literary subject, especially if it regarded classical or historical learning. Yet from the moment of turning the conversation to religion, he was in the clouds.

"Mr Duché was of a respectable family in this city. He was in the first class of graduates of our college; and having finished his studies in it with reputation, spent some time in the English University of Cambridge. A remarkably fine voice and graceful action helped to render him very popular as a preacher. His disposition also was amiable. The greatest infirmity attending him was a tendency to change in religious sentiment. A few years after his ministerial settlement, he took to the mysticism of Jacob Behmen and William Law. From this he became detached for a time; and his preaching, which was more zealous than either before or after, seemed to me to border on Calvinism; although, probably, he was not aware of, or designed it. In this interval, my personal intercourse with him began; and having one day asked of him the loan of Law's works, then much talked of, I received a refusal; the reason given being the danger he had formerly been in from the reading of these books. He

* On the 6th of December 1762. He received his degree of D.D. from the University of Oxford, near the close of the year 1770.

relapsed, however, to the theory of the mystics, and continued in it until the troubles which drove him from his native country. In England he became a convert to the opinions of Baron Swedenborg; and in these he continued until his decease. There can be no impropriety in stating this property of the character of my deceased friend; it being known to many still living, and currently spoken of by them. In recollecting the pleasure taken in his conversation, I think myself singularly happy in not having been drawn by it from what then, and ever since, I have considered as correct views of our holy religion."

Besides the friendly aid of Dr Peters and Mr Duché, and his familiar intercourse with them, he met with another assistance in his preparation, from which he thought that he derived much benefit, in conjunction with four other youths designed for the ministry. This was a theological exercise, instituted on the proposal of the Rev. Dr Smith, the provost of the college, of which he gives this account. "During three successive seasons, and within the space of a few months of each, on Sunday evenings, these exercises were performed in the hall of the old college, then not much less in size than either of our two churches, and in the audience of numerous and respectable assemblies. The groundwork of what we wrote and delivered was the history of the Bible. On each evening two of our company delivered their compositions, previously corrected by the provost, who afterwards enlarged on the subjects. Although this was far from being a com-

plete course of ecclesiastical studies, it called to a variety of reading, and to a concentration of what was read. There was also use in the introduction to public speaking. The young men with whom I was associated, were Thomas Coombe, who will be spoken of hereafter; Thomas Hopkinson, brother of the late Judge Francis Hopkinson, and since settled as a clergyman and deceased in Maryland; John Montgomery deceased, who also settled in Maryland, but went to England during the revolutionary war, and obtained a parish from the bishop of Hereford; and Joseph Hutchins,* whose long residence in this state, and late return to Barbadoes, his native country, are known to you."

From the time of his graduation until his departure for England, he profitably employed himself in attention to sacred and other literature. Of his progress and attainments, however, he appears to have had a more humble opinion than was formed by others, and than the extent of his information, both in theology and general literature, might have justified. "That portion of my life," this is his own modest language, "is now looked back on, as what might have been much more improved by literary cultivation, and thus have prevented the deficiencies which have been the unavoidable result of a multiplicity of concerns."

* Afterwards the Rev. Dr Hutchins. He subsequently returned to Philadelphia, where he died in the year 1833. He was about eighteen months older than Dr White. Their friendship began in the grammar school, and continued without interruption until his death.

He embarked for England in October 1770, with recommendations for holy orders. Dr Richard Terrick was then the bishop of London, and, of course, diocesan of all the Episcopal churches in America. After being examined by this bishop's chaplain, Mr White was ordained a deacon, under letters dimissory, by Dr Young, Bishop of Norwich, at the ember season, in December, and in the royal chapel, of which the bishop of London was dean. He continued in England about a year and a half, until he attained the age requisite for priest's orders. It was not then usual for American candidates, who depended on the English bishops for ordination, to leave their own country for that purpose, until they were of the age required for their being ordained priests, that they might, by one voyage only, obtain both deacon's and priest's orders without material delay; the latter being conferred, in such cases, very soon after the former. The reason for Mr White's going so long previously, was his desire, partly of being somewhat familiarized to the country, and partly of spending some time with two aunts, the sisters of his father. The incidents which happened, and the observations which he made, during his continuance in England, will be most interesting as detailed by himself.

"My father had kept up an affectionate correspondence with his family in England; and it is necessary to an account of myself, to give a few facts relative to them. His three sisters, after losing their mother, and two of them having lost their husbands, the eldest

having never been married, lived chiefly on jointures, and on annuities purchased by their profits in business, at Twickenham, in a genteel competency. The greater part of what they had in their power to leave, became mine, and amounted to about three thousand pounds sterling. One of the sisters, Mrs Midwinter, died within a year of my going to England. I was received by the survivors, Mrs White and Mrs Weeks, as a son. They were excellent women, which was also the character of their deceased sister. The eldest, in particular, has been ever since considered by me as one of the finest women I ever knew. With an excellent understanding, exemplary piety, and great dignity of manners, she possessed the vivacity of youth at above the age of seventy.

"In consequence of my father's recollections of his boyhood, and in order to make me cautious on political subjects, he apprized me that I might probably find his sisters of the description of people who were friends of the family and of the claim of the Stuarts. For although he had been put to a grammar school in St Alban's, eighteen miles from London, he remembered sundry incidents to the above purpose. Among them, was his mother's taking of him to Newgate, to visit a clergyman confined there as dangerous to the government. He was a Mr Howell, the author of a 'History of the Bible;' formerly a book in vogue, but now superseded by the later work of Stackhouse. After a while familiarity banished reserve on the subject of politics, when I learned from these ladies that

they had been educated in the principles of Jacobitism, but had long given up the cause as desperate; the readier on account of their respect for the personal character of the present king. I did not fail to acknowledge to them, that both their brother and his son, although neither of them had ever entered zealously into political party, were attached to the principles of the British constitution as confirmed, not introduced, by the revolution of 1688.

"During my stay in England, I was treated by my aunts with truly parental affection. I had lodgings in town, but spent a considerable proportion of my time with them in Twickenham; where I took pleasure, not only in the society of an agreeable circle of friends, to which I was admitted in that earthly paradise, but in rambles in the neighbourhood, and in beholding what the old vicar of the place, the Rev. George Costard, who pointed them out to me in our walks, called classic ground. He was a very learned man, and had been a celebrated instructor, when fellow of Wadham College, in Oxford. In the library of this city there is a small tract of his on some points in astronomy.

"While in England, I made several journeys to different parts of it. The longest of them was a range of about six hundred miles, with a friend from my very early years, Mr John Benezet; the most distant counties of our tour being Lancashire, as far as Liverpool, and Derbyshire, where we visited what are called its wonders, which are described in books. Not far

from them are Shenstone's famous Leasowes, and Lord Lyttleton's as famous Hagley Park; both of which we saw with very great delight. We also visited, near Manchester, the Duke of Bridgewater's coal pits, with his wonderful bridge over the river Irwell; and, on our return to London, the Duke of Devonshire's magnificent seat of Chatsworth.

"The most interesting of my excursions was to Oxford and to Bath, in May 1771. In each of them, my stay was between two and three weeks. In the preceding holidays of Christmas, I had become acquainted with a Rev. Mr (since Dr) Burroughs, a fellow of Magdalen College; and with a Mr Robearts Carr, a student of Worcester College, of about my own age, and designed for the ministry, into which he entered before my leaving of England. With his elder brother, the Rev. Colston Carr, I had previously become much acquainted; there having been an hereditary friendship between the families. He is still living, and is the father of Sir Henry Carr, who distinguished himself in Spain, under General Moore, and was since married to the widow of the murdered prime minister, Mr Percival. The Rev. Colston Carr was vicar of Feltham, near to Twickenham; and was presented, some years after, by Bishop Terrick, who had been a friend of his deceased father, to the parish of Eling. His younger brother, and the said Mr Burroughs, were of great service to me in Oxford. The former lodged me in his college, that of Worcester, in the chambers of a friend then absent. It would be super-

fluous to give you an account of this wonderful collection of colleges, of which the most minute particulars are in books. But let it be mentioned, that besides the sight of all the objects of curiosity, not only in Oxford, but in the most magnificent seats in the neighbourhood, the most splendid of which are Blenheim, the seat of the Duke of Marlborough, and Stowe, that of Earl Temple, it is a source of even present gratification, to have had a sight of characters, of whom some were then, and others have become since, illustrious. From the said Mr Costard I carried a letter to Dr Kennicot, a canon of Christ Church College, who was then making progress in his great work, since given to the world. He was very polite to me, and presented to me a copy of his Collections, as far as they were then made. One evening, on the then favourite walk of Merton College, there was pointed out to me, as a rising character, a Dr Moore, then also a canon of Christ Church; and this was the gentleman who, about fifteen years afterward, consecrated me a bishop.

"The morning after my arrival in Oxford, Mr Robearts Carr took me to the house of the Rev. Mr Swinton, the keeper of the archives of the university, to whom I carried a letter from Mr Costard. We were told by a servant, that Mr Swinton had gone to St Mary's, the university church, to the visitation. My friend confessed that he had forgotten the occasion, and proposed our going to hear the bishop's charge. He was the celebrated Dr Lowth. We entered the

church soon after he had begun and was proceeding to a commendation of the character of Archbishop Secker, who had died since the last charge, and who had preceded the speaker in his diocese. In the following winter, I was present at the same bishop's anniversary sermon before the Society for Propagating the Gospel. And fifteen years afterward, I visited him under the decay of his great powers; he being then bishop of London.

"Dining on a Sunday in Worcester College, I was asked by a young clergyman who sat near me, a Mr Walker, whether I took pleasure in sacred music. On being answered in the affirmative, he proposed our going to the chapel of Magdalen College. We went, after dinner, and the music was as delightful as can be imagined. My attention being attracted to a divine, who, from his dress and from his stall, appeared to be the principal person in the chapel, I inquired his name, and was told that he was Dr Horne, the president of the college. This was the excellent man since bishop of Norwich, and well known from his writings. He was handsome, and of a good presence.*

* "Bishop Horne has recorded, in one of his publications, that the highest seat to which he aspired in Heaven, was to sit at the feet of Dr Launcelot Andrews, the celebrated bishop in the days of Queen Elizabeth and James the First. Bishop Hobart, in one of his publications, referring to this saying of Bishop Horne, has remarked, that it is difficult to decide in which of the seats each of the two bishops might be the most fitly placed." (Note in 1830.)

"On the other Sunday of my stay, I dined with the fellows of the same college, on the invitation of the above named Mr Burroughs. One of the fellows had come from a distant parish, held with his fellowship, to take his turn of preaching at St Mary's. After dinner the beadle of the university came, with the ensigns of his office, to precede the preacher to church. The subject of the discourse was, the harmony of the evangelists in the event of our Lord's resurrection. It was highly commended, and the vice-chancellor was reported to have expressed a wish for its publication. The preacher was a Mr Townson; and as a divine of this name has since published a much esteemed book on the subject, I take it to be an enlargement of what I heard in outline and within the compass of a sermon.*

"In the morning of the same day, and in the same church, I heard Dr Thomas Randolph, since dean of Canterbury, and the author of two volumes of works published after his decease.

* "Since my letter to Bishop Hobart, I found, in the shop of a seller of second hand books, the work of Dr Townson; and perceiving from one of the English periodicals, that there had been published a posthumous volume of his discourses, I obtained it through the agency of a bookseller. It appears from a memoir of Dr Townson's life, prefixed to the volume, that the first discourse in the work before procured by me, was the one which I heard at St Mary's; the place and the time of the first delivery of it being specified; and that the other discourses are enlargements of it. They are first rate performances, and worthy of the attention of students of theology. It appears from the memoir, that the sermon in the university was printed at the desire of the learned audience." (Note in 1830.)

"One day the above named Mr Walker invited me to the examination of two candidates for the degree of A.B., to be held in a building of great antiquity, called the public schools. The course taken on such an occasion was, that each of the candidates chose any three of the resident masters of arts, to be his examiners. At present Mr Walker was one of such three. The examination of each took about an hour. It was slight; although, except in Hebrew, not in such a ludicrous degree as is described by Vicesimus Knox, in one of his essays. On seeing this essay, some years after, I could not but testify that there was ground for the representation; until there came out 'A Scale or Chart of Truth,' by Dr Tatham, the head of one of the colleges; being the compressed contents of eight sermons, preached by him at the Bampton lecture. He treats Dr Knox with great contempt; and accuses him of giving to the world what is substantially false, because a part only of the truth. Dr Tatham states, that the exercises in the public schools are kept up only *pro forma*, being accommodated to the obsolete philosophy of Aristotle; but not a test of the real education conducted in the different colleges. Dr Tatham wishes that the university system were restored, with accommodation to the improved state of philosophy; but he contends, that to describe what is done in the university schools, as a test of what is taught to the youth, and required of them in the colleges, is deceptive. I have not met a contradiction of Dr Tatham's statements. Under this view of the subject, I

suppose that the Hebraic questions referred to, were in compliance with ancient requisition, under the change of times; when the knowledge of the language was no longer thought necessary for a degree in the arts. The questions were, to one of the candidates: What is the English of '*gabbatha*?' and to the other: What is the Hebrew of 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?'

"I was present in the convocation, when Dr Nowell, the public orator of the university, presented several young gentlemen for honorary degrees. Although he made a Latin address, highly commending them, my friends informed me, that the course now taken for that kind of degree was often adopted by young men of family, who could not have obtained it in any other way. This seems to strengthen Dr Tatham's account of the matter. The convocation consists of the vice-chancellor, who presides; the two proctors for the year, who are a sort of sheriffs under him; and all who have attained the degree of master of arts.

"Having mentioned some literary characters, who became personally known to me in the university, I will not omit, although extraneous to it, that giant of genius and literature, Dr Samuel Johnson. My introduction to him was a letter from the Rev. Jonathan Odell, formerly missionary at Burlington. The Doctor was very civil to me. I visited him occasionally; and I know some who would be tempted to envy me the felicity of having found him, one morning, in the act of preparing his dictionary for a new edition. His

harshness of manners never displayed itself to me, except in one instance; when he told me that had he been prime minister, during the then recent controversy concerning the stamp act, he would have sent a ship of war, and levelled one of our principal cities with the ground. On the other hand, I have heard from him sentiments expressive of a feeling heart; and convincing me, that he would not have done as he said. Having dined in company with him, in Kensington, at the house of Mr Elphinstone, well known to scholars of that day, and returning in the stage-coach with the Doctor, I mentioned to him there being a Philadelphia edition of his 'Prince of Abyssinia.' He expressed a wish to see it. I promised to send him a copy on my return to Philadelphia, and did so. He returned a polite answer, which is printed in Mr Boswell's second edition of his Life of the Doctor. Mr (since the Rev. Dr) Abercrombie's admiration of Dr Johnson had led to a correspondence with Mr Boswell, to whom, with my consent, the letter was sent.*

"This reminds me of another literary character, a friend of Johnson, Dr Goldsmith. We lodged, for some time, near to one another, in Brick Court, of the

* "There was sent, not the letter, as I supposed, but a copy of it. The fact was not known to me, until the following incident. Dining at the table of President Washington, and sitting near to Mr Swanwick, then a member of congress, this related anecdote having been given by me to a few gentlemen within hearing, Mr Swanwick, hearing of the sending of the letter, corrected the error; and declaiming on the subject, expected to see the time when the letter would be worth two thousand guineas." (Note in 1830.)

Temple. I had it intimated to him, by an acquaintance of both, that I wished for the pleasure of making him a visit. It ensued; and in our conversation it took a turn which excited in me a painful sensation, from the circumstance that a man of such a genius should write for bread. His 'Deserted Village' came under notice; and some remarks were made by us on the principle of it—the decay of the peasantry. He said, that were he to write a pamphlet on the subject, he could prove the point incontrovertibly. On his being asked, why he did not set his mind to this, his answer was; 'It is not worth my while. A good poem will bring me one hundred guineas: but the pamphlet would bring me nothing.' This was a short time before my leaving of England, and I saw the Doctor no more.

"In June 1772, I was ordained a priest by the Bishop of London (Dr Terrick). This prelate not having given any work to the world, the only ground of his being supposed by me to possess talents, is his having risen from humble life. He had a fine voice, and was an excellent reader of the service, being also said to be a good preacher. I heard much concerning him in Twickenham, and it was entirely in his favour. He had been vicar of that parish; and in my first interview with him, on my mention to him of the family in which I proposed to spend part of my time, I found he had been acquainted with them. I will relate an anecdote to his credit, learned in my subsequent visit to England. It is of a transaction which took place

within a few hours of his death. He had long intended to provide for my friend the Rev. Colston Carr, the son of a clergyman who had been his curate, and was esteemed by him. When the vicarage of Eling fell in his gift, Mr Carr was appointed to it. Matters were in preparation for a legal settlement, when the bishop, who had been in a decline of health, was seized in such a manner that he perceived his end approaching. On this, he charged a young nobleman, who had married one of his daughters, to relate the case to the lord chancellor, into whose gift the parish would fall, with the dying request, that Mr Carr might not be disappointed of his reasonable expectations. The request was complied with."

In the same month of June, Mr White embarked for Philadelphia, and, after a tedious passage, arrived there on the 13th of September. He was chosen by the vestry of Christ Church and St Peter's, an assistant minister in those churches, in the succeeding month; as was also Mr Coombe, before mentioned as an associate with him in theological studies. That gentleman had returned from England in the preceding spring, after having spent two or three years as a curate and a lecturer in London. "He was," says the bishop, "my senior by about five months. We had been companions from the English school, but I had graduated a year before him. He had a fine voice, and was considerably conversant in what is called polite literature; but had no turn to the study either of the dead languages or of the sciences."

Some circumstances, connected with Mr White's appointment, and appearing on the minutes of the vestry, prove his disinterestedness, and the esteem in which he was held. While he was yet in England, a meeting of the vestry was held on the 19th of June 1772; at which the rector, Dr Peters, represented the necessity of additional aid in the pastoral duties of the two churches, in consequence of his own infirmity and the resignation of Mr Sturgeon, and added: "I am further told, that, under this exigency, several, I may say almost all, have turned their eyes on two young gentlemen, Mr Coombe and Mr White, who are both born and educated in this city, both of excellent moral character and known abilities, both in full orders, and licensed by the bishop of London for this province." The vestry "voted that two assistant ministers were necessary;" and after considering the state of the funds, "expressed their good opinion of the merits of Mr Coombe and Mr White, and that they were desirous to invite them as assistants, if ways and means can be devised to raise money for their support; the present revenues of the church being barely sufficient to provide for the rector and Mr Duché." At a subsequent meeting, on the 16th of November, the rector, after referring to the above proceedings, remarks: "In consequence of your declaration, these two gentlemen have favoured me with their assistance, and have given the congregations and myself great satisfaction; but, notwithstanding our personal affection for each other, it cannot be expected

that they will be willing to continue their assistance, unless it shall be put into my power to make them, in your and my own name, such offers as shall afford them a decent and suitable subsistence." On the 30th of November, a report on the church revenues was read in vestry, and also the following letter from the Rev. Mr White:

Philadelphia, November 30, 1772.

Reverend and Dear Sir:

I find it to be the intention of the vestry to divide between the Rev. Mr Coombe and me, whatever can be spared of the money arising from their funds, and and that they are desirous of raising from the congregations a further supply, which they likewise mean to divide between us.

This letter is intended to inform you, that whilst I officiate in these churches, I shall always be satisfied with what they can afford to offer me from their regular funds, and not expect to receive any part of what may be raised by some new way. If a proposal be made to the congregations for a further supply, I am sure the vestry will do me the justice to express it in such a manner, as that none may be led to suppose me interested in the success of it. Perhaps they will think it proper to mention, in their proposal, that I am excluded by my own desire, in order to make known their intention to preserve an equality between Mr Coombe and me.

I submit it, sir, to your judgment, whether this let-

ter be read to the vestry, or the substance of it be declared to them by you.

I am, reverend sir,

Your affectionate, humble servant,

WILLIAM WHITE.

Rev. Dr Peters.

The rector communicated his intention to give to each of the gentlemen one hundred pounds per annum. The vestry added a salary of two hundred pounds per annum from the churches for Mr Coombe, and adopted the following resolution: "And whereas the vestry are sensible that the same salary ought to be allowed to Rev. Mr White, yet, as he has so generously and earnestly expressed his desire not to receive more than the church funds can allow, and will be content, as they are informed, for the present, with one hundred and fifty pounds; Resolved, That the annual sum of fifty pounds be paid out of the church funds to the Rev. Mr White, over and above the rector's gift of one hundred pounds per annum."

In February 1773, Mr White married Miss Mary Harrison, an amiable lady of much merit, to whom he had been tenderly attached for two or three years before his voyage to England. Her parents were from Lancashire in that kingdom. Her father, originally a sea captain, became a considerable and successful merchant; and was an alderman, and for some time mayor of Philadelphia. He was also an efficient warden and vestryman of Christ Church, when it was

the only Episcopal church in that city. With this lady Mr White lived in uninterrupted harmony until her death, on the 13th of December 1797. He was not again married. He never ceased to deplore her loss, with the tenderest recollection of her merits.

No material incident occurred after his marriage, until the troubles between Great Britain and her colonies became more serious, and led to the war of the revolution. Mr White carefully and fully reflected upon the principles involved in that great contest. To such reflection he felt himself bound by a strong sense of his duty as a free subject, a Christian and a minister of the Gospel; and in the last character, on account, more especially, of his connection with the Church of England. His talents and sound judgment, united with extensive information, well qualified him for an examination of the dispute. He had, long before that period, carefully studied the English history, and the principles of the English constitution; and his reading on those subjects had been considerable. The result of his careful reflection was a decided opinion in favour of the claims of the colonies; to which he adhered, and on which he uniformly and consistently acted, during the whole contest. His account of the course adopted by him, and of the motives which led to it, is too interesting not to be given in his own language.

"The principles which I had adopted, are those which enter into the constitution of England, from the Saxon times, however the fact may have been

disguised by Mr Hume; and were confirmed and acted on at the revolution in 1688. The late measures of the English government contradicted the rights, which the colonists had brought with them to the wilds of America; and which were, until then, respected by the mother country. The worst state of dependent provinces has been that which bound them to a country itself free. This is a fact sufficiently illustrated in the case of those of Rome; which were more miserable under the republic than under the emperors, monsters as the most of them were. Our quarrel was, substantially, with our free fellow subjects of Great Britain; and we never objected to the constitutional prerogatives of the crown, until it threw us out of its protection. This it did, independently on other measures, by what was called the prohibitory act, passed in November 1775, authorizing the seizure of all vessels belonging to persons of this country, whether friends or foes. The act arrived about the time of the publication of Paine's 'Common Sense.' Had the act been contrived by some person in league with Paine, in order to give effect to his production, no expedient could have been more ingenious. To a reader of that flimsy work at the present day, the confessed effect of it at the time is a matter of surprize. Had it issued six months sooner, it would have excited no feeling, except that of resentment against the author. But there had come a crisis, which the foremost leaders of American resistance were reluctant to realize to their minds.

"Even in regard to war, there is a fact which shows how far it was from being sought for or anticipated by the American people. The congress of 1774 concluded their address to them, with advice to be prepared for all events; and yet, until the shedding of blood at Lexington, in April 1775, there was no preparation, beyond the immediate vicinity of the British army in Boston. The secretary of congress, Mr Charles Thomson, subsequently expressed to me his surprize at its not being generally understood, that the congress perceived the probability of what came to pass; and were of opinion that it should be prepared for, by being provided with the means of resistance.

"These things are said without disrespect to the personal character of the king of Great Britain. He took the part into which, perhaps, any man would have been betrayed by the same circumstances. You know my construction of the scriptural precepts, on the subject of obedience to civil rulers. It engaged my most serious consideration; and under the sense of my responsibility to God, I am still of opinion, that they respect the ordinary administration of men in power; who are not to be resisted from private regards, or for the seeking of changes, however promising in theory. In a mixed government, the constitutional rights of any one branch are as much the ordinance of God as those of any other. This view of the subject would be abandoned, if it could be proved to be more fruitful of disorder than its opposite. The latter is rather the cause of civil wars, as in the rebellions

of 1715 and 1745. To talk of hereditary right, when the question is of the sense of the scriptural precepts, is beside the mark; for they look no further than to the present possessor of the power.* The contrary theory lands us on despotism; and if any should be reconciled to this, by the notion of its securing of tranquillity, there cannot be a greater mistake. If there be no constitutional check, it will be found unconstitutionally, in some such shape as that of the prætorian guards of Rome, or of the janizaries of Turkey, or of the combinations of grandees in Russia.

"However satisfactory this train of sentiment, at the crisis referred to, the question of expediency was problematical, considering the immense power of the mother country. Perhaps, had the issue depended on my determination, it would have been for submission, with the determined and steady continuance of rightful claim. But when my countrymen in general had chosen the dreadful measure of forcible resistance—for certainly the spirit was almost universal at the time of arming—it was the dictate of conscience, to take what seemed the right side. When matters were verging to independence, there was less to be said for dissent from the voice of the country, than in the beginning. Great Britain had not relinquished a particle of her claim. Her commissioners did not pre-

* "In support of my ideas of the British constitution, I might refer to many whom I esteem among the soundest divines of the Church of England; but will name one only, Bishop Sherlock. There is alluded to the thirteenth of the fourth volume of his Sermons." (Note in 1830.)

tend to any power of this sort from the crown; and had they pretended it, there was no power in the crown to suspend acts of parliament, or to promise the repeal of them. On this ground, it must be perceived, that the least defensible persons were they who gave their services to the engaging in the war, and then abandoned the cause. In proof of the fact of the almost universal disposition of the Americans, you may be referred to Bisset's History of the Reign of George the Third, written in opposition to the anti-government history of Belsham. It will not be unprofitable to you, to bestow your serious attention on the details made by the former, not merely of the injustice of ministerial measures, but of the folly of them; indications of the utter ignorance of our country, and of the consequent incapacity for the governing of it. Government confided, for information, on the persons whom they ought the most to have distrusted: and repeated failure did not cure them of the delusion, until the effect was irremediable.

"Although possessed of these sentiments, I never beat the ecclesiastical drum. My two brethren in the assistant ministry preached animating sermons, approbatory of the war, which were printed; as did the most prominent of our clergy, Dr Smith. Our aged rector, in consequence of increasing weakness, was retiring from the world. Not long before this time he resigned his rectorship, was succeeded by Mr Duché, and soon after died. Being invited to preach before a battalion, I declined; and mentioned to the colonel, who

was one of the warmest spirits of the day,* my objections to the making of the ministry instrumental to the war. I continued, as did all of us, to pray for the king, until Sunday (inclusively) before the 4th of July 1776. Within a short time after, I took the oath of allegiance to the United States, and have since remained faithful to it. My intentions were upright, and most seriously weighed. I hope they were not in contrariety to my duty."

At the time of Mr White's taking the oath of allegiance, as above mentioned, the following incident is said to have occurred. When he went to the court house for the purpose, a gentleman of his acquaintance standing there, observing his design, intimated to him, by a gesture, the danger to which he would expose himself. After having taken the oath, he remarked, before leaving the court house, to the gentleman alluded to: "I perceived, by your gesture, that you thought I was exposing my neck to great danger by the step which I have taken. But I have not taken it without full deliberation. I know my danger, and that it is the greater on account of my being a clergyman of the Church of England. But I trust in Providence. The cause is a just one, and I am persuaded will be protected."

Early in the contest, and before the declaration of independence, he had publicly avowed and maintained

* "The colonel alluded to was Timothy Matlack; whose ardour in the American cause cannot but be still remembered by many." (Note in 1830.)

those principles relative to the duty of obedience to established government, which justified the resistance of the colonies to the unconstitutional measures adopted against them by the mother country. The occasion was on the 5th of November 1775. That day was then observed here, as in other parts of the British empire, in commemoration of the two events of the gunpowder plot, and the revolution of 1688; and, happening then on Sunday, furnished a suitable opportunity of introducing the subject in a sermon from the pulpit. The same sermon was twice delivered subsequently; and after the last occasion, which was on the 25th of April 1799, was published, with only small alterations relative to circumstances then existing. It is on Romans, ch. xiii., v. 1 and 2. His reasoning in it is clear and close, and appears to be conclusive. An abstract would not do justice to it; but the general principles sustained should be mentioned. The text inculcates, and enforces by the proper motives, the duty of subjection to the "higher powers." But he maintained that it gives no support to the opinion of the indefeasible right of princes to the obedience of their subjects; nor to another opinion, which it had been brought to countenance, of the duty of submission to the civil authority, in whatever hands it may be lodged; to whatever extremes it may be abused; and whatever constitutions and laws it may contradict: that the latter is inconsistent with an universally acknowledged characteristic of Christianity; viz. its not intermeddling with the civil constitutions of countries;

and its leaving of their different policies to the principles on which they have been respectively founded: that let the opinion mentioned be admitted and acted on in Christian states, it would immediately follow, that all legal boundaries of prerogative are done away; that one simple and absolute dominion supersedes the various modifications of power; that the first prince, or the first robber, who will seize all, shall from that moment possess all, to be governed by himself, and by his successors, as their lusts or fancies may direct: that the true sense of the Gospel precepts on the subject is, that they inculcate, in general, the duty of obedience to the civil magistrate, without any nice discussions concerning the origin, or the extent, or the discontinuance of his power; but leaving the doctrine to be applied, in these respects, according to the nature of the duty and the end for which it was ordained: that the doctrine is left on this footing in the Scriptures, in common with all the other social obligations; as, for instance, the authority of father and that of master, with the corresponding duties of child and of servant; the one of which is required, and the other asserted, without limitation or exception; not that there are no limitations or exceptions, for there are confessedly; and it is the business of judgment and of conscience to ascertain and to regard them, and to apply principles to cases, as they occur. That the case of an extreme abuse of power was not at all in contemplation of the apostle; as appears from the verses immediately following the text (v. 3—6), in

which he reasons from the nature and the end of government, which are always good, to the suitable submission and obedience; the relation of which reasoning to a wanton abuse of power, or the perversion of it from its true end, cannot be shown. That the passage does not speak of such a case, but leaves it to what reason, under the guidance of religion and morals, shall point out, as the proper means of ascertaining and securing civil rights. That in the same spirit the passage concludes: "Render therefore to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; honour to whom honour." That the most reasonable measure of those dues is the venerable authority of constitution and of law; and there can be no occasion of asserting against these the cause of mere power: and that the duty enjoined is, that when the civil magistrate is in the exercise of his authority agreeably to constitution and to law, it is criminal to resist him, on any pretence whatever.

In September 1777, Mr White retired, with his family, to the house of his brother-in-law, Mr Aquila Hall, in Harford county, Maryland. The British army were then advancing to Philadelphia, of which they took possession soon afterwards. "At this eventful crisis," he says, "I received notice that congress, who had fled to Yorktown, had chosen me their chaplain. They chose, with me, the Rev. Mr Duffield, of the Presbyterian communion. Nothing could have induced me to accept the appointment, at such a time, even had the emolument been an object, as it was not,

but the determination to be consistent in my principles, and in the part taken. Under this impression, I divided my time between congress and my family, which the double chaplainship permitted, until the evacuation, of the city, in the June following. My acceptance of the chaplainship was a few days before the arrival of the intelligence of the capture of General Burgoyne; which tended to a revival from the general depression occasioned by the capture of Philadelphia, and by the advance of an army on the frontier of New York; the success of which would have severed the eastern states from the southern." The circumstances attending his acceptance of this appointment were sometimes detailed by him, in conversation with his friends, in a lively manner. Bishop Kemper, of Missouri and Indiana, who was present on some such occasions, mentions to me that he related them thus: "That he had removed with his family to Maryland; and being on a journey, stopped at a small village between Harford county and Philadelphia, at which he was met by a courier from Yorktown, informing him of his being appointed by congress their chaplain, and requesting his immediate attendance: that he thought of it for a short time; it was in one of the gloomiest periods of the American affairs, when General Burgoyne was marching, without having yet received a serious check, so far as was then known, through the northern parts of New York: and after his short consideration, instead of proceeding on his journey, he turned his horses' heads, travelled imme-

diately to Yorktown, and entered on the duties of his appointment." These circumstances manifest the firmness and decision of his character, and his constant adherence to the principles which he had deliberately embraced.

While officiating as chaplain, he had opportunities of observing some tokens of the difficulties under which congress laboured, in procuring the means of carrying on the war, and the very reduced state of their finances, at some periods. The two following facts, related by himself, are striking proofs of their destitution of funds, and the very low state of their credit. On one occasion, going into the chamber of congress to perform his duty as chaplain, he remarked to one of the members; "You have been treating yourselves, I perceive, to new inkstands." "Yes," was the reply, "and private credit had to be pledged for the payment." At another time, observing that the clerks had removed from their usual room, and inquiring the cause, he was told that there was no wood to make a fire there, nor money to buy it. These incidents must have occurred after congress returned to Philadelphia.

He continued chaplain until that body removed to New York. When, after the adoption of the existing constitution, the congress of the United States returned to Philadelphia, he was again chosen one of their chaplains; and continued to be so chosen, at each successive congress, by the senate, until the removal of

the seat of government to Washington, in the year 1801.*

Before Mr White's return to Philadelphia, his friend, Mr Duché, had gone to England. "To his country," says the Bishop, "he had become obnoxious, in consequence of a letter written by him to General Washington, entreating him to use his influence with the congress, for the putting of an end to the war; and, in the event of their refusing, to negotiate at the head of his army. It was a very incorrect measure, but induced by despair of the American cause, and to spare the effusion of blood. On the other hand, Mr Duché must have been aware, that his having officiated as chaplain to congress, even after the declaration of independence, was known to his superiors in England. To appease in that quarter was the professed object of his voyage.

"He had already suffered, in a degree, for the countenance given by him to what was considered as rebellion. But on the Sunday after the entrance of the British army, in September 1777, after officiating in Christ Church, and after praying for the king in the service, he was arrested at the door of the church by an officer, and conducted to jail, under the immediate command of Sir William Howe. He remained there

* Being consulted, in December 1830, by the Rev. Henry V. D. Johns, then one of the chaplains of congress, on some difficulties met with in the performance of the official duties, he wrote a reply, explaining his own practice as chaplain, and containing some other interesting particulars. It is inserted in the Appendix, No. 1.

one night only; his friends having, in the mean time, made known his change of sentiment; and he, as may be presumed, having taken the oath of allegiance. This is one instance, among very many, of the breach of a promise made in a proclamation issued by the said general at the time of his landing from Chesapeake bay, in which people were invited to stay at their respective homes, under the assurance of not being punished for the past. The instances of the violation of this promise were too many and too public, to have been matters of oversight; and being during a tide of success, were an awful intimation of the probable consequences of submission.

"In my last visit to England, there was a renewal of my friendly intercourse with Mr Duché; and I spent the greater number of my Sundays in his family, and in the asylum to which he was chaplain; and you are old enough to have been a witness, when a youth in my neighbourhood, of a subsequent renewal of it, on his return to this country, in May 1792. His decease was in March 1797. In a note appended in 1830, he adds: "On the return of Mr Duché, he lodged, for a few weeks, at my house, with his family. During their being with me, there took place the interesting incident of his visit to President Washington; who had been apprized of and consented to it; and manifested generous sensibility, on observing, on the limbs of Mr Duché, the effects of a slight stroke of paralysis, sustained by him in England."

Within a few days after the evacuation of Philadel-

phia by the British army, Mr White returned to that city. The circumstances in which the Episcopal churches were placed, and the state of political feeling, shortly rendered his situation difficult and embarrassing. All his brethren of the clergy retired from the state of Pennsylvania. He was left alone in it to watch over and support the interests of the church, which was exposed to dangers, from causes both internal and external, arising from the circumstances of the country. But the confidence universally felt in his integrity and judgment; his well known political principles, favourable to the liberty and independence of the United States, and giving him an influence with those in power which he could not otherwise have possessed; and the steady, prudent, and conciliatory course which he pursued, were of signal benefit to her, and enabled him, under Providence, to conduct her in safety, though diminished in extent, through the threatening dangers. Prejudices, not unnaturally excited by her former connection with the established Church of England, were removed or weakened by the knowledge of the public station, and acceptable political sentiments, of this her leading and influential advocate, which were a security that her principles could not be unfriendly to the liberty and welfare of the country. Incidents occurring during the revolution called upon him, and rendered it indeed incumbent on him, in consequence of the prominent station in which he was placed, to defend the Episcopalians, as will be hereafter shown, from the suspicion and

charge of combining, as a body, political with their religious principles, which, if believed, would subject them to odium, and greatly injure the advancement, and even safety of their church. But he was enabled to guard her from the apprehended effects.

He thus describes his situation, and that of the church, after his return to Philadelphia: "My colleague, Mr Coombe, was still here; deliberating whether to stay or to go. He determined on the latter. We renewed our acquaintance during my short stay in England. He had then been in Ireland, chaplain to Lord Carlisle, who was, for a short time, lord lieutenant there; and Mr Coombe, besides obtaining the degree of doctor in divinity from Trinity College, Dublin, had been presented, by his patron, with a parish. He is now a prebendary of Canterbury, and one of the forty-eight chaplains to the king.

"The present state and prospects of our church exhibit a contrast fruitful of satisfaction, compared with the period when I was the only officiating clergyman of our church in the state. Our settled clergy of the province, exclusively of the city, had been never more than six; and these were supported principally by stipends from England. During the revolutionary war, some had died, and the others had retired to England; except Dr Smith, who remained until what took place subsequently in the college. He then removed to Maryland, and set on foot his measures for the founding of a college in Chestertown; in which he had accepted the parish; and another in Annapolis.

"I was now in a trying situation, in the parochial cure of the churches to which my services had been, and have been ever since, devoted. The difficulty was in regard to the warm spirits of whigs and tories, as they were called. With the latter, the danger was the absenting of themselves from the churches; in the devotions of which, the new allegiance was acknowledged. That some took this part, for a time, is certain; but it is remarkable, that of these, there were scarcely any who had professed conscientious scruples against resistance; and that they were chiefly persons, who had engaged in it without calculating the consequences, and had afterwards inconsistently relinquished it. The prejudice wore away gradually. With the hot whigs it was more difficult to deal, because of the present season of success; and because they who staid in the city had become, in some measure, identified with the enemy; whose conduct had been, in many instances, wantonly oppressive; although, it must be confessed, with very little discrimination between friends and foes. There arose great danger of the introduction of a political creed into the churches, which might have distracted them for many years. But the heat became allayed by some judicious men on the same side in politics; who convinced them, that instead of endeavouring to annul the last election of vestrymen, it would be best to let all things remain quiet until the next Easter; the time appointed by charter for the annual election. On the arrival of that period, the changes were very few; and consisted

chiefly in restoring members who had been left out, for no other reason than because, being out of the lines, they could not attend to the duty."

The newly elected vestry declared the rectorship of the united churches vacant, in consequence of Mr Duché's departure; and they unanimously chose Mr White rector. The manner in which he accepted the station exposed him to some hazard of sharing in the public resentment against his predecessor; and proved his disinterestedness, the steadiness of his friendship, and the firmness with which he adhered to what he deemed a duty, notwithstanding evils which might be apprehended from compliance with it. "This" (proceeding of the vestry) says he, "was not unexpected, but placed me in delicate circumstances, on account of my long friendship for Mr Duché; whose return, considering his attainder, and the indignation excited by the aforesaid letter, was at present out of the question. There was run the hazard of some share of the same indignation, when it was stated, in the acceptance of the rectorship, that if ever the former rector should return to this country, by the permission of the civil authority, and with the wishes of the members of the churches, I should think it my duty to resign. It is so entered on the minutes, at my desire.* When he returned, in 1792, his engaging in

* The following is a copy of the letter, taken from the minutes:

"Philadelphia, April 15, 1779.

"Gentlemen:

"Your appointment of me to the rectorship of the churches you represent, is the most honourable testimonial my past ministry among you

the ministerial duty was to be despaired of, as you must remember."

Mr White's friendly and generous conduct towards Mr Duché and his family, is thus acknowledged by that gentleman, in a letter dated at the asylum, Lambeth, 2d April 1783. "An early determination, prudentially taken, to write to no person in Philadelphia, but my father, hath prevented me, hitherto, from indulging my earnest desire to write to you, and many

can receive, except that which with humble hope I aspire to from our *Redeemer and Judge.* I accept it, therefore, with the full confidence, that the same candour and affection which you have hitherto manifested to me, as your assistant minister, will be continued to me in this more distinguished and difficult station. At the same time, be assured, gentlemen, that I shall always esteem the honour you have this day conferred on me, an addition to my many obligations to conduct myself in such a manner, as to receive your approbation, and satisfy my own conscience.

"I beg leave further to accompany my acceptance of the rectorship with the declaration, that if ever, at the desire of the vestry and members in general of these churches, and with the permission of the civil authority, the former rector should return to this country, I shall esteem it my duty, and it will be my pleasure, to resign it. The peculiar delicacy of my situation will excuse the liberty I am taking, when I make my earnest request to the vestry that this letter be recorded with their minutes.

"With my best wishes and prayers for yourselves, gentlemen, and the churches you represent,

"I am, your much obliged
and very affectionate, humble servant,
"WILLIAM WHITE.

"To the Churchwardens and Vestrymen of the united churches of Christ Church and St Peter's Church."

On the 20th of May 1779, a letter from a number of the members of the congregations, to the vestry, was read at a vestry meeting; from which

other valuable friends. The happy return of peace, puts an end to every obstacle; and I take the earliest opportunity to congratulate you on an event, which every lover of humanity, and above all, every sincere Christian, hath long and ardently desired. In the first place, I most sincerely thank you for your kind attention to my dear family, whilst they remained in Philadelphia. I was happy to hear that you, whom I always loved, was among the number of those who treated them with singular respect, and assisted them in the hour of difficulty and distress. Such an act of friendship can never be forgotten by me. I am also to acknowledge the liberal, generous, and Christian manner, in which you accepted the rectorship of the churches, and the affection you showed for me by the declaration you caused to be entered on the minutes of the vestry. Though I am very comfortably settled here, yet my affection urges my return to Philadel-

the following is an extract: "We the subscribers, members of the congregations of Christ and St Peter's churches, embrace this opportunity of returning you our most sincere and hearty thanks for the regard you have manifested for the welfare of these churches, in the appointment of the Rev. Mr William White to be rector of the same.

"It is with pleasure, gentlemen, that we inform you we foresee many advantages arising from the nomination of so distinguished a character, for his steady and faithful adherence to the cause of virtue and liberty, to preside over these churches. And were we to omit giving you this public testimony of our approbation, we should fall short of that duty and regard we owe to him, for his past services, care and attention." (The residue of the letter suggests the propriety of calling the congregations together to judge whether any changes are necessary to adapt the constitution of the churches to the changes effected by the revolution.)

phia, if there should be any prospect of its being accomplished in a way agreeable to my fellow citizens, to my friends and myself.....If the churches of Philadelphia should be desirous of receiving one of their old shepherds, I am ready to return to my *first love*; but then it must be unanimously, without division, with full approbation of rector and vestry. As to rank or title, I seek for none; I wish only to do good, to be made an humble instrument, in the hands of God, of converting sinners, or confirming the faithful." It appears from subsequent letters, that various incidents occurred, from time to time, which postponed his return to Philadelphia until the before mentioned period of 1792.

The friendship of Mr White for Mr Coombe, his colleague in the assistant ministry of the united churches, has been already mentioned in his own language. It is pleasing to be enabled to add here, in a part of a letter of Mr Coombe to him, a proof of that gentleman's affection and esteem for him; and that their mutual friendship was not destroyed by their difference in political sentiments. The letter is dated the 29th of November 1777, and was written from Philadelphia, while Mr White was with his family in Maryland. "Your worthy mother having been so kind as to apprize me of this conveyance, I could not let it pass without a line, acquainting you that I am still among the living, and that my affection for you has suffered no diminution by absence, or the difference of our political opinions.....Unhappy com-

motions prevailing in our country, and the difference of our ideas concerning them, first produced a coyness, and hath, at length, separated us from each other: but be assured that, amongst the friends whom you have left behind, no one more cordially regrets your absence than myself, or is a warmer advocate for the sincerity and consistency of your character. I wish we could have seen things through the same perspective; but since it is otherwise, let us at least cherish, by our example, sentiments of liberality and candour, and let not public dissensions have the power to obliterate friendships begun in early youth, which have grown up with us to manhood, and which nothing but the clear conviction of each other's want of integrity, ought to destroy. I hope we may yet live *to brighten the chain* in happier days. At all events, our disagreement on subjects of public concern, however it may furnish me with an occasion for sorrow, can never lessen my regard for you. Thus much I longed to say, as my heart overflows with good will to you, and an opportunity of writing may not happen again."

In 1779, by an act of the legislature of Pennsylvania, the estates and powers of the trustees of the College of Philadelphia were taken from them, and transferred to the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, thereby established. Of this transaction, and some circumstances following it, this account is given in the letter to Bishop Hobart. "The next material incident of my life was a crisis of the concerns of the College of Philadelphia; of which I had been a trustee

about six years. On this point I shall be more extensive than as it relates to myself; in order to leave with you a document of the view taken of it, as the subject relates to our church. Of the concerns of this institution, which is of about the same age with myself, I know the more, in consequence, not only of my being connected with it ten years as a pupil, and now above forty-five years as a trustee, but of my having heard much of its earliest transactions from my father.

"It was established on what has been called the broad bottom. My own opinion is, that it is important to a religious society to have literary institutions under its jurisdiction. But they who have supposed the College of Philadelphia to have been Episcopalian, are mistaken. Still, the greater number of the trustees were of our denomination; and this, with some other circumstances, was sufficient, and apparently would always be so, to prevent its being under a direction subservient to any other religious body. When Dr Smith was collecting in England, Dr Samuel Chandler, then the most efficient minister of the dissenting interest, had countenanced the collection; but having been informed, from this side of the water, of apprehensions lately excited, that the liberal foundation of the seminary was about to be narrowed in favour of the Church of England, the matter drew the serious attention of all who had patronized the design in that country. The issue was the framing of an instrument, which was signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, by the two proprietaries, and by the said

Dr Chandler. It states the above circumstance; and, in order to allay the apprehensions, recommends that the trustees should make a declaration, to be signed by themselves, and by every trustee to be subsequently chosen, that the seminary should be conducted according to the comprehensive scheme then in operation. On the arrival of this communication, although it was a measure never thought of among the trustees, they complied with the proposal, from respect for the persons who made it, and from gratitude for favours received. Be the merits or the demerits of the act what they may, it was done for the quieting of anti-Episcopalian jealousy; and there was not a voice raised against it, until the close of the year 1779; when the legislature framed an act grounded on this very measure,* which was construed to give the church a preference, because of the then provost's being a clergyman of it. The seminary, and all the estate, were taken from its trustees, and a new board was constructed, consisting of six officers of government, the senior ministers of six denominations, and thirteen others by name. In the preceding summer, the president of the state had sent a message, advising the

* It is referred to by the act in the following words: "And whereas the college, academy, and charitable school of the city of Philadelphia, were at first founded on a plan of free and unlimited catholicism; but it appears that the trustees thereof, by a vote or by-laws of their board, bearing date the 14th day of June, in the year of our Lord 1764, have departed from the plan of the original founders, and narrowed the foundation of the said institution." Section 2.

not holding of an intended commencement. But this was predicated on an alleged breach of the charter, by a late election of several trustees, who were admitted to take their seats, without an oath of allegiance to the king. Compliance with the charter, in this respect, was out of the question; which showed, it was said, that the corporation could not act, under the present system of things. It may be supposed, that the futility of this was afterwards perceived; the oath having been abolished, but the chartered rights not forfeited, by the revolution. Accordingly the aforesaid declaration was fastened on.*

"During the session of the convention which framed the first republican constitution of this state," (in 1776) "at the instance of Dr Smith, there was held, at his house, a meeting of sundry gentlemen interested in the inviolability of religious and scientific corporations. I was present. On request, Dr Franklin, the president of the convention, met us; and cheerfully

* "It was my opinion, and I still think, that what principally gave offence was the political complexion of the trustees lately chosen. They were gentlemen prominent in the revolution, but, in the politics of the state, opposed to those who then governed it. Party spirit had risen to a great height; and between the first attack on the college, in preventing the commencement, and the consummating of the design by a legislative act, had broken out in violence involving bloodshed. I allude to the attack on the house in my neighbourhood, long after known by the name of Fort Wilson, so called from the name of my friend, who owned and occupied it. When this outrage happened, I was in Maryland, attending on the funeral of my father." (Note in 1830.) An account of the attack is given in the Life of James Wilson, in Delaplaine's Lives of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence.

promised to propose to the body an article drawn up by Dr Smith, securing all chartered rights. The article may be seen in the instrument," (section forty-five) "and, in connection with the subsequent act of assembly, invading the charter of the college, will remain a proof of the feebleness of constitutional restraints on a single legislature. The convention thought they had provided against the danger of a breach of the constitution, by the expedient of a septennial council of censors. When the council met, they were under the political bias of the former assembly. But, '*quis custodiet custodes?*' They accordingly sanctioned the injustice.

"It is wide of my purpose to give an account of the repeal of the act, in 1788; of the restoration of the charter and of the estate; and of the subsequent transactions of the college, under the name of 'University.' Perhaps, however, justice requires mention of the plea, by which members of the legislature of 1779 repelled the charge of perjury; for they had all sworn obedience to the constitution. They said, that the estates were continued to the promotion of science. On a like pretence, they might have seized on the churches of any offensive denomination, continuing them to the promoting of religion: themselves being the judges how this may best be done.

"I was present* when the subject was argued in the council of censors. Arguments against the legis-

* A note added in 1830.

lative measure were powerfully urged, from the well known rights of chartered bodies; and from the article in the constitution, framed for the express purpose of creating additional security to those now existing. All was made to give way to the plea, that the property would be still applied to the promoting of literature. Such is the feebleness of an oath, opposed to passion. One benefit, however, may have arisen from the event. It may remind a rash legislature, that their acts are liable to the review of their successors.

"On the evening but one before the meeting of the new board of trustees, under the said legislative act, I received a message from the president of the state, through my friend Mr Francis Hopkinson, who had been in the old board, and was in the new board in his official character, intimating that my attendance being expected, as one of the senior ministers of the Gospel, comprehended by the charter, a request would be made to me to open the meeting with prayer. Mr Hopkinson, at my desire, and in my presence, wrote to the president information, that I should not be at the first meeting, for reasons which I thought it the most respectful to state to his excellency in person; and that this should be done within a few days. He thought it worth his while to spend a considerable portion of the night, in drafting a long answer to what he supposed to be my reasons. This answer filled several sheets of paper, which he sent to Mr Hopkinson for my perusal, but required the return of them.

"Agreeably to promise, I waited on the president;

and after reminding him of an argument held between us, at the beginning of the public procedure, I thought it my duty to declare, that besides the reasons then given against it, there was another, in the charge made by the legislature concerning an act to which my father, recently deceased, had been a party; but which that body, under the influence of some unfounded suggestion, and not possessed of the knowledge of circumstances, had misconstrued and condemned. These things, I added, would not hinder, that, being included in my clerical capacity, I should lay the case before the vestry of the churches with which I was connected, and should act agreeably to their desire. A meeting of the vestry was called, relatively to the subject. The greater number of the members had not made themselves masters of the question. A few of them had been hearers of what passed in the house of assembly; and were of opinion that it was a most arbitrary act; but that, as to a right accruing under the new arrangement, it ought not to be lost to the church. The vestry expressed the opinion, that I should attend the meetings.

"The new modelled institution had not been long in operation, when an unexpected scene opened to me. The leaders in the change had been principally of the Presbyterian communion, which was also the general cast of the legislature; and the contemplated president, who was the Rev. Dr Ewing, had been active in bringing matters to the present issue. Without any personal ill-will to him, or to any other person, it had

been a source of dissatisfaction with me, to contemplate the apparent tendency to the putting of the seminary under an influence, which seemed likely to control all the literary instruction of the United States. But great was my surprize, on finding that there was a corps of resistance, consisting of trustees with whom I had held very little intercourse. It so happened, that they determined on pushing me to be provost; and I struck in with them, under the hope that my station of rector might be put on so reasonable a footing, in point of labour and of emolument, as that my time would be more devoted to literature, than on any other plan ought to have been permitted. Dr Ewing gained his election by one vote. It was that of a trustee, whose vote in my favour had been presumed on, and who was probably secured on the other side, by a circumstance not then generally known, but afterwards ascertained. The party had become liable to a prosecution, by an act done during the possession of the city by the British army, and known to the gentlemen at the head of the government. That this was the motive, cannot be positively affirmed, but was rendered probable by circumstances. The opposite side were assiduous in offering to me their votes for the vice-provostship, but my zeal did not carry me quite so far as to comply. After all, the ecclesiastical ascendency proved to be far short of what had been apprehended.

"In the spring of 1782, I received the honour of a doctorate from the university; and was the first per-

son, on whom that degree was conferred by the institution.

"The injustice done to the college* gave birth to the Episcopal Academy; which would have greatly flourished, but for two causes. One was—what I had no opportunity of opposing, it being during my absence in England—the projecting of a building which was disproportioned to the object, and which the sums subscribed did not warrant. But the principal cause was the legislative act of justice, in restoring to the former trustees of the college their chartered rights and their estate. From the wreck of the property of the academy, there has been rescued a remnant of it, which may be made essentially serviceable to the Episcopal church, whenever there shall be a vigour of endeavour tending to that end."

The internal dangers arising from the operation of political principles, tending to produce dissension in the church, were mentioned in preceding pages. Others were produced by the existence of warm political parties in the country. The jealousy of those then in possession of the powers of government in the state of Pennsylvania was excited, and their unfriendly opposition might be apprehended, in consequence of a suspicion that political principles had been combined among Episcopalians, with religious; and that they had been led, by the latter, to unite generally with the party opposed to the existing government of the state.

* Note added in 1830.

The contending parties were then distinguished by the names of Constitutionalists and Republicans: the former advocating the principles of the constitution framed for Pennsylvania in 1776, and being in possession of the offices of government; and the other disapproving of those principles, particularly those of a numerous executive, a single legislature, and a dependent judiciary, holding their commissions for only seven years, but capable of a reappointment by the executive council. The republicans carried their opposition so far as to refuse to hold offices under that constitution; and party feelings were highly excited. Dr White's own sentiments were favourable to the republican party, though maintained with moderation and calmness. He was very independent in forming his political opinions, and reflected upon them for himself. And though he freely expressed them, with his reasons for maintaining them, and also constantly, and from a sense of duty as a citizen, gave his vote at elections, he would never condescend to become an active political partisan; much less to make religious profession an instrument of policy. He was decidedly opposed to the combination of religion with politics, and desired that the members of the Episcopal church should harmoniously unite, in conducting their ecclesiastical affairs, without regard to their differences in political opinions; and he used his influence among them to effect that desirable object. He was led, however, in consequence of his situation in the church, to defend her interests from the evils to be apprehended

from the suspicion above mentioned. For that purpose, a correspondence took place between him and General Joseph Reed, the president of the supreme executive council. This was conducted in a polite and friendly manner, and with very respectful sentiments expressed by General Reed of Dr White's character and principles personally. As these circumstances are introduced only to exhibit the temper and principles of Dr White, and his attentive care of the welfare of the church of which he was the senior minister, some extracts from his only remaining letter to the president, dated January 31, 1783, are here inserted.

"I hope you will not think me impertinent, in requesting your attention to a distinction, which was perhaps obscurely expressed in my last, between your being opposed, on account of your religious profession, and the opposition on this principle proceeding principally, if not exclusively, from the members of the Episcopal churches: the former, I told you, I had no reason to believe, though it was not my intention to remark on it; and the latter, I was sure, you never meant to assert; the reason for both was my observing among the opponents of the late administration, many members of the Presbyterian church, and my knowing many of its advocates in the churches with which I am connected. There never existed a dispute, in this state or province, in which these societies were, as such, in opposition.

"I believe that you abhor the introduction of reli-

gious ideas into politics, and can add, with truth, that so do I. No doubt it is necessary, in public elections, to have a mixture of men of different religious societies; but this is to avert the evil which we abhor; because we know there are men of every society, who, if they had the power, would appoint none but those of their own to places of power and profit.

"Defamation is, I trust (as you are so kind as to believe), abhorrent to my disposition: both parties agree in charging the principal guilt of it each on the other. Having all along conversed familiarly with some gentlemen on either side, and been convinced that each imagined the other to harbour more resentment than appeared to me to exist, I have always hoped that the day would come, when either mutual explanation, or social intercourse without explanation, would efface their prejudices.

"I am not, sir, without uneasiness from the apprehension of my being troublesome. If I am, you will candidly impute it to the true cause. Having always endeavoured, in my ecclesiastical employment, to impress the idea of an agreement in religious concerns, where difference exists as to the civil, and having observed our church members of opposite parties harmoniously promoting the good of our communion, it hurt me to see even an apparent imputation of mixing religion and politics, applied chiefly, if not only, to this quarter: for the churches which I serve contain a great majority of the Episcopalians in this city; the only part of the state in which any considerable society of them is to be found."

By the events of the revolution, Dr White suffered considerably in his property; principally by the depreciation of the paper currency, but which, notwithstanding, continued to be a legal tender in payment of debts. "My father," says he, "being an exact judge of the value of his lands, whenever he could sell any of them to advantage, brought the proceeds to this city, and lent them on bonds and mortgages. It was discreet to do so, as he could not have foreseen the losses, which would be the result of the depreciation of paper currency, in an event not then likely to happen, the war of the revolution. It became a serious loss to his children; although at his death, in September 1779, he left to them what was thought no inconsiderable property at that time. What with the loss of almost all I possessed from his bounty at the time of my marriage, and of Mrs White's share of her father's fortune, and with my proportion of the loss sustained by my father during his life, I have always supposed that I suffered by the said disaster, not less than to the amount of ten thousand pounds; as money was then called" (twenty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-six dollars and sixty-seven cents).

An incident occurring when one of those bonds was discharged furnishes one of the very few instances in which he in some measure yielded to warmth of feeling, excited by injurious conduct towards himself; but which, probably, will be generally thought warranted by a just indignation at the dishonesty and hypocrisy of the parties concerned. The man in-

debted to him on the said bond, called, in company with his wife, to discharge it; at a time when the continental money was so far depreciated, that there was a general reluctance, even in those not marked by their regard for moral honesty, to offer payment in such a currency. These individuals made a very high profession of religion. When Dr White remonstrated with them on the dishonesty of their conduct, in offering to pay the debt in such a mode, they replied that it was their duty to take care of and provide for their family. He was under the legal necessity of accepting the money offered. And they left him, using some canting language expressive of their wishes for his welfare, spiritual and temporal. His indignation at their behaviour, was expressed by a call to his servant, in their hearing, to see that there were no silver spoons in the entry, while those persons were passing through it. This was, however, the effect of unusual excitement; for he was distinguished by his mildness, courtesy and self-command. The incident is well known to his family, and was related to me by himself, without naming the individuals.

When peace was concluded, in January 1783, measures were contemplated by some of the few remaining clergy of the Episcopal church, for effecting its revival and organization. In these Dr White took an active, influential and useful part; and his concern in them led to the most important and interesting transactions of his life. Great difficulties existed in the way of a successful prosecution of this object, arising

from the condition of the country; from strong prejudices generally prevailing against that church, partly from her former connection with the established Church of England, and partly from opposition to her principles of ecclesiastical government; and from the want of union in opinions and feeling among Episcopalians themselves, in the different states. To overcome these, Dr White laboured assiduously; and his well known character and principles, and his wise course of conduct, enabled him to be signally useful, in gradually obviating the difficulties, and successfully completing the desired organization. An extensive correspondence took place between him and the influential friends of the church in the several states. To him their varying, and in several respects opposing opinions were communicated; and he zealously endeavoured, with prudence, abilities and perseverance, aided by the confidence reposed in him, to produce mutual confidence and friendly feelings, an harmonious union, and as general a concurrence of sentiment as can be reasonably expected in large bodies of men. The important facts contained in this correspondence, and such parts of it as he thought expedient to publish at large, have been inserted in his Memoirs of the Church.

To illustrate his course, it will be proper to introduce the circumstances of a previous transaction, which was often afterwards a subject of discussion. Before the conclusion of the peace, the condition of the church, and the apparent danger of her total

dissolution, had drawn his serious and anxious attention; and his mind had been engaged in devising a plan for her preservation, by an organization of her government adapted to existing circumstances. And early in August 1782, "despairing of a speedy acknowledgement of our independence, although there was not likely to be more of war, and perceiving our ministry gradually approaching to annihilation,"* he wrote and published a small pamphlet, entitled, "The Case of the Episcopal Churches considered." At that period, the late debates in the British Parliament, and the conciliatory propositions communicated by Sir Guy Carlton and Admiral Digby, had produced a general expectation that hostilities would cease. But as those propositions did not contain an acknowledgement of the independence of the colonies, congress refused to enter into a negotiation on them. The first transaction, which opened the prospect of peace with the recognition of our independence, was a letter from general Carlton to the commander in chief of the American army, dated August 2d, 1782, and communicated to congress, and read on the 8th of August. Before any knowledge of this, the pamphlet was published and advertised on the 6th of August, and some copies had been distributed a few days before. These dates are necessary to explain the views of the author; which were directed only to a temporary organization, called for by an existing necessity, but allowed to be

* Letter to Bishop Hobart.

imperfect, and designed to be completed as soon as an opportunity should occur. But it was perceived to be impracticable, at that time, to obtain the Episcopal succession. This could not be expected from any British bishops; nor would an intercourse with their church be regarded without jealousy in the United States. Should application be made to any other Episcopal church, the apprehension of the resentment of Great Britain would present, it was thought, an insurmountable difficulty. Under such circumstances the pamphlet was written. In an appendix to his episcopal charge, in 1807, the Bishop expresses still his belief, "that under the state of things contemplated, some such expedient as that proposed must have been resorted to; although, had the proposal been delayed a little longer, the happy change of prospects would have prevented the appearance of the pamphlet, unless with considerable alterations."

The general principles embraced were, that the church should be free from subjection to any spiritual jurisdiction connected with the temporal authority of a foreign state; that every thing should be avoided which might give the churches the appearance of being subservient to party, or tend to unite their members on questions of a civil nature; that the laity as well as the clergy should have a share in the government of the church; that the power of electing the superior order of ministers ought to be in the clergy and laity together, they being both interested in the choice; that the deprivation of the superior order of

clergy should also be in the church at large, without any interference of the civil authority; that is, "deprivation can only be under regulations enacted by a fair representation of the churches, and by an authority entirely ecclesiastical;" that there should be an equality among the parochial churches, and not, as in England, the subjection of the parish churches to their respective cathedrals; and each church should retain every power that need not be delegated for the good of the whole; and that, as the churches were unable to provide a support for the superior order of clergy, the duties assigned to that order ought not materially to interfere with their employments as parochial clergymen, and their superintendence should consequently be confined to small districts.

The particular organization then proposed, comprehended permanent superintending ministers, with powers similar to those of bishops: and the provisions suggested were, that the individual churches should be associated in small districts, in each of which there should be a convention composed of representatives elected from the vestry or congregation of the several churches within it, the minister being one; that they should choose a permanent president, who, with other clergymen appointed by the body, might exercise powers purely spiritual; in particular, those of ordination, and discipline over the clergy, according to reasonable laws: that the United States should be divided into three larger districts, in each of which should be an annual assembly, consisting of members

sent from the smaller districts within it, equally composed of clergy and laity, and voted for by those orders promiscuously, the presiding clergyman being always one: and that there should be a body representing the whole church, consisting of members from each of the larger districts, of clergy and laity equally, and among the clergy equally of presiding ministers and others, to meet statedly once in three years: the use of this and of the preceding representative bodies being to make such regulations, and receive appeals in such matters only as shall be judged necessary for their continuing one religious communion.

As to episcopacy, he held that the churches were not to depart from episcopal government. But as the succession could not at present be obtained, his recommendation was "to include in the proposed frame of government a general approbation of episcopacy, and a declaration of an intention to procure the succession as soon as conveniently may be; but in the mean time to carry the plan into effect, without waiting for the succession" (p. 17): and when "the episcopal succession" was "afterwards obtained, any supposed imperfections of the intermediate ordinations might, if it were judged proper, be supplied, without acknowledging their nullity, by a conditional ordination, resembling that of conditional baptism in the liturgy;" which "was an expedient proposed by Archbishop Tillotson, Bishops Patrick, Stillingfleet and others, at the revolution, and had been actually practised in Ireland by Archbishop Bramhall" (pp. 19, 20).

He maintained the propriety of not waiting for the episcopal succession, on the ground that the worship of God, and the instruction and reformation of the people, are the principal objects of ecclesiastical discipline; and these paramount objects should not be relinquished or suspended by scrupulous adherence to episcopacy, when there was an inability to procure it: and that all the obligations of conformity to the divine ordinances, all the arguments which prove the connection between public worship and the morals of a people, combined to urge the adopting of some speedy measures to provide for the public ministry in these churches. He went at large into the proofs, from the institutions of the Church of England, and from the opinions and reasonings of many of her most eminent divines, that such a temporary departure from episcopacy, in a case of necessity, was not opposed to her principles.

It is observable that most of the principles maintained by him in that pamphlet, were incorporated into the constitution subsequently adopted; and some others may, in future, be found expedient.* But his sentiments on episcopacy became, at subsequent periods, the subjects of remarks and objections. They were misunderstood by an anti-Episcopalian writer,

* In his Memoirs of the Church (2d ed., p. 392, at the top) is a remark which appears to refer to one of these: that in which it is proposed that the United States should be divided into several districts, with ecclesiastical assemblies in each (for certain objects) superior to the diocesan and inferior to the general convention.

in a controversy which took place in New York, in the year 1805; who made quotations from the pamphlet in such a manner as to convey sentiments very different from those intended: as if, indeed, the author abandoned the claims of the apostolical institution of episcopacy, and the general obligation of retaining it; whereas he only recommended a temporary departure on account of an evident existing necessity. The writer referred to candidly corrected the representations, which were pointed out to him as mistakes. But even a temporary departure, for that cause, was censured by some of the author's brethren among the clergy, as inadmissible, because contrary to Scripture, and the principles of the Church of England. Yet he constantly retained his opinion that, under such circumstances, the departure was agreeable to both. The subject was often discussed, both in conversation and correspondence, between him and his friend Bishop Hobart, who always supported the opposite opinion; but without effect on either. In his episcopal charges of 1807 and 1834, Bishop White introduced similar doctrines. And in a note added, with the date of the 21st of December 1830, to the letter to Bishop Hobart giving an account of the incidents of his early life, he has inserted these remarks: "In agreement with the sentiments expressed in that pamphlet, I am still of opinion, that in an exigency in which a duly authorized ministry cannot be obtained, the paramount duty of preaching the Gospel, and the worshipping of God on the terms of the Christian covenant, should go

on, in the best manner which circumstances permit. In regard to the episcopacy, I think that it should be sustained, as the government of the Church from the time of the Apostles, but without criminating the ministry of other churches: as is the course taken by the Church of England." Before his visit to England for consecration, he knew that his pamphlet had been in the hands of the Archbishop of York, a predecessor of the prelate who assisted at his consecration. It had been enclosed also to Mr Adams, the American minister, when the address of the convention of 1785, to the archbishops and bishops of England, was officially sent to him, and was delivered by him to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Moore. The latter did not express any dissatisfaction with the pamphlet, or with the author on its account; nor has any other prelate, so far as is known.* After the publication of it, a copy was sent to Dr (afterwards Bishop) Provoost, at Dr White's desire, by Mr Duane, then in congress. This produced a letter from that gentleman to Mr Duane, approbatory of the pamphlet, and mentioning some facts which the author thought much to the purpose of the main object of it.†

When peace was happily concluded, and our independence acknowledged, not long after the publication of the pamphlet, the temporary plan therein proposed was immediately relinquished by the author himself. The necessity, on the existence of which it was based,

* Memoirs (1st ed.), 83, 84.

† Letter to Bishop Hobart, of 17th October 1805.

did not seem any longer to continue; but, on the contrary, a prospect appeared to be opened of procuring the means for organizing the church completely on episcopal principles. His views were, therefore, now directed to measures for obtaining the episcopal succession; uniting in one body the scattered members of our church; framing for its government a constitution and laws; and making such alterations in the liturgy, as would be adapted to its new situation.

In devising and conducting all the measures for these important objects, the subject of this Memoir is universally acknowledged to have taken a very wise and conspicuous part. This is claimed for him without any intention of diminishing the honour due to the other good and able men who were associated with him; who were engaged likewise, with zeal and ability, in promoting the same interesting objects; and who manifested, in various instances, a spirit of union and conciliation, by mutually yielding, for the sake of harmony, their own opinions respecting points on which differences occurred, where they could yield without violating the dictates of conscience. For the prevalence of this spirit, the church was, indeed, greatly indebted to the character and conduct of Dr White, and to the confidence generally and justly placed in the purity and disinterestedness of his purposes, directed singly to the benefit of the whole body.

It is proper here to view the situation of the episcopal church at the termination of the revolutionary war, with respect both to the advantages which she

enjoyed, and to the difficulties under which she laboured, in completing the desired union and organization.

The advantages to be mentioned were of much importance, and of a very interesting character. One arose from the perfect religious freedom established in the United States, without any control exercised by the civil authority over spiritual concerns. In consequence of this, every denomination was held to possess the full power of regulating for itself the ecclesiastical government, discipline, and worship within it; and of promoting, by every lawful means, its religious welfare and improvement, without being subject to obstructions, or other disadvantages arising from the connection of religion with secular policy. On these subjects our constitutions gave no powers to the civil government. Its protection was extended to all; and their religious privileges were secured, and guarded from the encroachment of others. A second advantage was, that the church was providentially relieved from the incumbrance of the ecclesiastical or canon law. This system, which prevailed in England, had been chiefly framed in the middle and subsequent ages; and by its principles had superseded the more pure, wise and simple rules of law and government established in the early ages of the church; had introduced many corruptions; had become, by length of time and numerous additions and alterations, very complicated and difficult, prescribed an intricate and dilatory course of proceedings in ecclesiastical causes,

and contained many rules which a change of time and circumstances had rendered unsuitable, or even injurious, but which were still obligatory. The burthen of this system had been long felt and complained of in the parent church. Her first reformers were very desirous of introducing a reformation of it. Commissioners were appointed for the purpose, and a plan was even prepared, but was never adopted by authority. The attempts to effect a reformation were often repeated, without success. Though partial improvements or alterations have been occasionally made, yet the system continues—or at least did continue at the period of our revolution—to possess the same general character, and to need an extensive reformation. But by the situation in which the church was placed in the United States, she was providentially released from the obligation of that law. It was never transferred to America. It was inapplicable to the condition of the country. Our churches were free from subjection to any foreign dominion, ecclesiastical or temporal. We had no established church connected with the state, and possessed of powers derived from it, in addition to those of a spiritual nature. We had no ecclesiastical courts. That part of their jurisdiction which related to the discipline of the church itself, existed nowhere : and other subjects belonging to their jurisdiction, such as cases of marriage and divorce, testaments and administrations, and offences against religion, so far as they are noticed and punished by the civil laws, had been placed under that of the civil

courts. All the authority which had been exercised in the episcopal church was of a purely spiritual character, and was, besides, of very inconsiderable extent. The episcopal churches within the colonies were under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, who was their diocesan. But the only powers exercised by him, and these solely in consequence of voluntary submission, were those of ordination, and in some small degree, through his commissaries, of discipline over the clergy. Being thus unembarrassed, and having full power to form, modify, or change her institutions, on subjects not settled by Scripture, but left to human regulation, as her circumstances rendered expedient; our church could proceed to frame a plan of government and laws best suited to her condition, and fitted to promote her enlargement and improvement, without interference from any other quarter; and with the benefit of the guidance of primitive example, and of the experience of the church in different ages illustrating the practical effects of the various laws which had from time to time been established. A third advantage was that she had been, and continued in possession of the excellent articles, liturgy, and other institutions of the Church of England, relative to doctrine, worship, and all the sacred offices; except so far as they were necessarily changed by the principles of our civil revolution; with full power to modify them to suit her circumstances, and to improve them if necessary. With these combined advantages when her organization after the revolution was com-

menced, she possessed, perhaps, the fairest opportunity, if wisely improved, which has occurred since the days of the Apostles, of organizing a church upon the pure and simple principles of the primitive ages of Christianity. And she had among her members, both clergy and laity, men of learning and intelligence, disposed and able to give efficient aid in attaining that object.

But notwithstanding these advantages, there were no small difficulties to be encountered; requiring zeal and wisdom, and perseverance to overcome them. They were, however, such that a hope was reasonably entertained, with respect to some, that they might soon be obviated; that others, produced principally by prevailing prejudices, and not by reasonable causes, would be gradually removed by time and better knowledge; and that others, arising from differences of opinion among Episcopalians themselves, would be dissipated by mutual explanations, and by a spirit of conciliation which attachment to the church and desire to unite and consolidate it might be expected to excite. The expectations entertained on these points were not disappointed. The difficulties gradually disappeared. Most of them were within a few years overcome. And though a considerable time was requisite to afford sufficient opportunities of manifesting the true principles, and the operation in practice, of the adopted system of government and worship, and thereby removing the prejudices of others, and cherishing among themselves a general agreement in opinion on points

of importance, and more especially a spirit of harmony, affection and mutual confidence, combined with a love of union; yet all this was finally effected. And the subject of this Memoir enjoyed the high satisfaction, long before his decease, of beholding the church, which was, at this time, revived principally by his influence and labours, become enlarged and flourishing, harmoniously united within itself, and attracting the respect of other denominations, and general confidence.

The apprehended difficulties arose from various causes. One of them was the unpopularity of the Episcopal church, in consequence partly of her former connection with the established Church of England, and an apprehension that if bishops were consecrated by that church for her, a subjection to them, or at least an undue influence, would be the result; and partly of an opinion unreasonably formed, that episcopacy itself was unfriendly to the political principles of our republican governments. To which may be added the fact, that many of her clergy had been led, by conscientious scruples, to adhere to the British government and leave the country; while others, under the influence of the same scruples, though they remained here and quietly submitted to the established governments, disapproved of the revolution. The prejudices occasioned by these circumstances did not affect only those unconnected with the Episcopal church, but existed also, in a measure, among her own members. So strong were they in South Carolina, that the consent

of the Episcopalians of that state to a general union, was in danger of being lost by their apprehensions of the consequences of the introduction of bishops consecrated by those of a foreign country; and it was obtained only by a prudent resolution, proposed in a very disinterested spirit, by the Rev. Robert Smith (who was looked to as the future bishop of the diocese) that no bishop should be settled in that state. In others of the southern states, very lax notions on the subject of episcopacy were adopted; insomuch that it was thought there was no necessity to resort to foreign bishops to obtain the succession, but we might appoint and ordain them for ourselves. The church had suffered, too, in general estimation, by the bad conduct of many of her clergy in Maryland and Virginia, and the states south of them. Whether this was the consequence of neglect and want of due care in those charged, in England, with the power of sending out clergymen to this country, or deception in the recommendation of unsuitable candidates to them; or of the want of discipline in the church here, leaving the clergy free from any superintending control, and making it almost impracticable to remove or check a vicious clergyman; or of both those causes; the effects produced severely injured her influence and reputation: lowering her religious character in the opinion of the community, and inducing many of her own members to depart from her fold, and unite themselves with other churches. From the operation of these causes, the Episcopal church, at the close of the

revolution, was reduced to a very low condition, and almost in danger of extinction: most of her clergy having died, or removed from the country, or retired from active duty, and none ordained to supply their place; and her congregations, in most places, broken up and dispersed. The degree of this evil may be estimated by the fact formerly mentioned, that in Pennsylvania, Dr White was, for some time, the only clergyman. And in the other states, even those in which the clergy had before been the most numerous, very few remained. In addition to all these embarrassments, it was known that differences of opinion, on some important points, existed in the church itself; particularly between the clergy of the eastern states and those of the south; which might lead to disunion. And the want of bishops, and the very inadequate supply of clergy, prevented any vigorous and systematic exertion for her improvement.

Under such circumstances were commenced the proceedings for reviving and organizing anew our Church, formerly known by the name of "the Church of England in America," but thereafter known as "the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States." Happy was it that, at this time, she was providentially supplied with a man so well qualified, by his character and attainments, to conduct her safely through the existing difficulties. Features of his character, calculated to secure confidence and remove prejudices, have been before mentioned. Others may be added, showing how well fitted he was to sup-

ply her wants in the present exigency. The mildness and urbanity of his manners engaged the affections of those associated with him, and enabled him to excite and maintain a conciliatory spirit, and a readiness mutually to accommodate to each other's opinions, on subjects not deemed fundamental. His influence in guarding against disunion, on account of differences in sentiment, was increased by the moderation of his own principles on the subject of ecclesiastical government and discipline, which placed him between the clergy of the east and south, and enabled him successfully to mediate between them. With all these advantages he combined intellectual qualifications and attainments, remarkably adapted to the station in which he was called to act—a sound judgment; habits of calm and deep reflection; caution in decision and action, united, however, with steady adherence to the principles deliberately approved, yet with a disposition to aid cordially in giving full effect to measures adopted by the general consent, though against his own opinions; and extensive and varied information, particularly (what was now especially useful) an enlarged and accurate knowledge of the principles of government, both civil and ecclesiastical; of the ecclesiastical law of England; and of the principles and usages of the primitive church. All these were employed, with unwearied industry, for the benefit of the church in the United States. It may be stated here, generally, in proof of his faithful attention to her concerns, from the commencement of the measures for

her new organization until the time of his decease, that he attended every general convention, without exception, held throughout that long period, during the whole of its deliberations; and, in like manner, every annual and special convention held in his own diocese of Pennsylvania: and that he was named on almost every important committee, and zealously contributed his aid on the subjects committed to its charge.

In his "Memoirs of the Church," he has left a valuable and interesting account of its organization, and of its subsequent improvement and history. But his modesty prevented his doing justice to himself, by stating at large his own agency. Nor can that be fully done now from the materials discovered. It is not intended to introduce a minute history of those transactions. No more will be attempted than is necessary to the design of bringing into view, somewhat more prominently, his agency in them, and thereby illustrating his character and principles.

The great object which he contemplated and pursued from the outset, was, to procure a union of all the episcopal churches in the United States into one body or church only; and for that purpose to induce the churches, in as many of the states as possible, to consent to such union under a general constitution. The wisdom of this course appears to have been generally perceived and conceded.

But from the commencement of the proceedings on this subject, a difference of opinion was found to exist,

tending to cause considerable delay. In some of the states, such principles had been embraced respecting episcopal power, that it was thought improper to take measures for organizing the government of the church, until a bishop was obtained, under whose authority and guidance alone, the object could be regularly effected. But by others, and by Dr White among them, it was judged most proper to collect and unite the scattered members of the church, that there might be a body over which the head might be then placed. This course was necessary also to give weight to the intended application to the English bishops for the episcopal succession; who, it was thought, would probably pay little regard to the petition of unassociated individuals. The latter opinion was accordingly acted on.*

The earliest measure leading to the union and organization, was taken by Dr White; who, after consultation with the clergy in the city of Philadelphia, proposed for consideration at a meeting† of the vestry of his own churches, on the 13th of November 1783, the appointment of committees from the vestries of the churches in the city, to confer with the clergy thereof

* Memoirs (1st ed.), 95, 358.

† Another transaction at the same meeting, and entered on the minutes, furnishes one of the proofs of the disinterestedness of Dr White. He voluntarily—*generously*, is the language of the minute—offered to give up certain parts of the income of the church, to which the rector had been before entitled, to be added to the church funds: which was accepted by the vestry. Fifty pounds, a part of the sum relinquished, was to be paid to the assistant minister.

on the subject of forming a representative body of the episcopal churches in Pennsylvania. Committees being afterwards appointed, as proposed, they and the clergy met on the 29th of March 1784, and after consultation, "were of opinion, that a subject of such importance ought to be taken up, if possible, with the general concurrence of the Episcopalians in the United States."* They therefore resolved to request a conference with such members of the Episcopal congregations in the counties of that state, as were then in the city. Another meeting was held on the 31st of March; and a fuller meeting of clergy and laity from different parts of the state on the 24th of May 1784, and some following days, at which Dr White was chosen chairman. The result of their deliberations was the adoption of a resolution reported by a special committee,† "that it is expedient to appoint a standing committee of the Episcopal church in this state, consisting of clergy and laity: that the said committee be empowered to correspond and confer with representatives from the Episcopal church in the other states, or any of them; and assist in framing an ecclesiastical government; that a constitution of ecclesiastical government, when framed, be reported to the several congregations," "to be binding on all the congregations consenting to it, as soon as a majority of the congregations shall have consented;" "and that" "the committee be bound by the following instructions, or fundamental principles.

* Journal of Pennsylvania, p. 3; Memoirs (1st ed.), 74, 75.

† Journal of Pennsylvania, p. 6; Memoirs (1st ed.), 72, 73.

"First; That the Episcopal church in these states is, and ought to be, independent of all foreign authority, ecclesiastical or civil.

"Second; That it hath, and ought to have, in common with all other religious societies, full and exclusive powers to regulate the concerns of its own communion.

"Third; That the doctrines of the Gospel be maintained, as now professed by the Church of England; and uniformity of worship continued, as near as may be, to the liturgy of the said church.

"Fourth; That the succession of the ministry be agreeable to the usage, which requireth the three orders of bishops, priests and deacons; that the rights and powers of the same, respectively, be ascertained; and that they be exercised according to reasonable laws, to be duly made.

"Fifth; That to make canons, or laws, there be no other authority, than that of a representative body of the clergy and laity conjointly.

"Sixth; That no powers be delegated to a general ecclesiastical government, except such as cannot conveniently be exercised by the clergy and laity, in their respective congregations."

A standing committee was appointed, of which Dr White was chairman.

A few days afterwards, a meeting of several clergymen from the states of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, took place at Brunswick; at which were the first communications between clergy of different states, on the subject of the general organization of the

church. The principles which had been proposed in Pennsylvania were made known to them. And some discussion occurred, without any definite result: some of the clergy, in consequence of their peculiar situation, desiring that it should not be then urged. But it was agreed to procure as general a meeting as might be, of representatives of the clergy and laity of the different states, in the city of New York, on the 6th of October following. And the business of the meeting was confined to the revival of a corporation for the relief of the widows and children of clergymen in the said three states, which had existed before the revolution, under a charter from the governors of those states. This was the expressed object of the meeting; though it was intended also to give an opportunity to the clergy for consultation on the other subject.*

The proposed meeting was accordingly held in New York, in October; when members attended from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland. But not being possessed of sufficient authority to establish definitively any principles of government, they only recommended the course to be pursued. Some of the

* Memoirs (1st ed.), 62—64. This corporation, by mutual consent, and with a fair division of the funds, was afterwards resolved into three, under charters from the several states, for the benefit of their clergy respectively. In that which was chartered in Pennsylvania, the Bishop took great interest; and was attentive to the improvement and application of its funds, and often directed the attention of his clergy to securing its benefits for their families. Its funds have accumulated to a very considerable amount.

members were appointed only by their own congregations, and not by the churches of the state; and those who had more regular appointments had no further authority than to deliberate and propose. Their recommendation was in these words:* "The body now assembled recommend to the clergy and congregations of their communion, in the states represented as above, and propose to the states not represented, that as soon as they shall have organized or associated themselves in the states to which they respectively belong, agreeably to such rules as they shall think proper, they unite in a general ecclesiastical constitution, on the following fundamental principles.

"First; That there be a general convention of the Episcopal church in the United States of America.

"Second; That the Episcopal church in each state send deputies to the convention, consisting of clergy and laity.

"Third; That associated congregations, in two or more states, may send deputies jointly.

"Fourth; That the said church shall maintain the doctrines of the Gospel, as now held by the Church of England; and shall adhere to the liturgy of the said church, as far as shall be consistent with the American revolution, and the constitutions of the respective states.

"Fifth; That in every state, where there shall be a bishop duly consecrated and settled, he shall be considered as a member of convention *ex officio*.

* Journal of Pennsylvania, pp. 8, 9.

"Sixth; That the clergy and laity assembled in convention shall deliberate in one body, but shall vote separately; and the concurrence of both shall be necessary to give validity to every measure.

"Seventh; That the first meeting of the convention shall be at Philadelphia, the Tuesday before the feast of St Michael next, to which it is hoped, and earnestly desired, that the Episcopal churches in the several states, will send their clerical and lay deputies, duly instructed and authorized to proceed on the necessary business, hereby proposed for their deliberation."

The clergyman who appeared from Connecticut did not unite in this recommendation, being only empowered to announce that the clergy of Connecticut had taken measures for the obtaining of an episcopate; and until that design should be accomplished, they could do nothing; but as soon as they should have succeeded, they would come forward, with their bishop, to do what the general interests of the Church might require. But otherwise, it contained the sense of the body assembled. And the gaining of so considerable an assent to it was thought of much moment at the time.*

After this meeting in New York, and in consequence of the adoption of the principles contained in the fourth article of their recommendation, an event happened in Massachusetts, which deprived the Episcopalians of one of their principal churches in Boston.

* Memoirs (1st ed.), 64—68.

It was known before the revolution by the name of the King's Chapel, and afterwards by that of the Chapel Church. The congregation then occupying it (in consequence of circumstances appearing in the correspondence to be referred to) was Unitarian, in principle. Before the meeting in New York, they had declared a belief that the Episcopalians south of Connecticut, agreed with them in opinion, and would alter the liturgy so as that they might be in communion with the Episcopal church. But that fourth article being totally adverse to their views, they formed a liturgy for themselves, by the authority of the congregation only. The incident produced a correspondence between Dr White and one of the members of that congregation, with the concurrence and aid, it was believed, of a gentleman then their lay reader, and afterwards their minister. The correspondence, with an extract of a letter from the Rev. Dr (afterwards Bishop) Parker, through whose hands Dr White's letters passed, is inserted in the Appendix.* An idea has been entertained by some, that at the time of the organization of our Church, an apprehension existed that there was, among her members, an inclination to Unitarian opinions, and that there was danger of her being infected by them. Assertions of this kind were made in England.† I have not met, either in the published works of Bishop White or among his manuscripts, the slightest evidence of any cause

* No. 2.

† Memoirs (1st ed.), 135, 381, 384.

for such an apprehension, except what might have been supposed to be furnished by this transaction.* The result of which was, that this expensive church, built by Episcopalians, and appropriated to episcopal worship, came into possession (still retained) of a denomination maintaining principles fundamentally at variance with theirs; and which the original founders of the church would not have supported. The allowance of so great a perversion of property from the sacred object for which it was originally bestowed, to another so much opposed to that object, has a tendency to discourage the permanent devotion of private wealth to the benefit of religious institutions.

In compliance with the recommendation from the assembly in New York, in October 1784, the clergy and deputies from the congregations in Pennsylvania assembled in their first convention in May 1785, of which Dr White was unanimously chosen president. Articles of association were here prepared by a committee, of which he was chairman, and adopted and signed by the convention: containing the principles that the said clergy and congregations should be called and known by the name of "the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Pennsylvania:" that there should be an annual convention, consisting of all the clergy, and of a lay deputy or deputies from each congregation: that each congregation should have one

* A motion made in the general convention of 1785, by Mr Page of Virginia, whose design was misunderstood, is explained by Dr White in the Memoirs (1st ed.), pp. 104, 105.

vote: that the clergy and lay deputies should deliberate in one body, but vote as two distinct orders; and that the concurrence of both orders should be necessary to give validity to every measure. Clerical and lay deputies were also appointed to attend the general convention recommended to be held in Philadelphia in the succeeding September; of whom Dr White was one.*

The proposed general convention met in Philadelphia on the 27th of September 1785, and consisted of representatives from seven of the states; being those from New York to Virginia, both inclusive, with the addition of South Carolina. Dr White was unanimously chosen president. In consequence of their consultations, the Church became organized and united in those states, under a general constitution; which, though acted under, being the only one in existence, was not finally ratified until the convention of 1789, and afterwards received several important improvements. The proceedings of the convention related to other interesting subjects; but as they were not fully matured, and brought to their permanent state, until reviewed and considered by several successive conventions, it is proposed, for greater clearness, to state the facts relating to the course pursued on the most interesting points, until the leading principles for governing the church and regulating its doctrines and worship became settled. The facts

* Journal of Pennsylvania, pp. 11—13.

will be arranged under the five heads of—the Episcopal Succession; the Constitution of Government; the Liturgy; the Articles of Religion; and the Canons. They have already been made well known by "The Memoirs of the Church," and but little interesting information—some, however—can be added to that therein contained. They will therefore be stated with brevity, and in a way adapted to the design of exhibiting Dr White's own views, and of introducing the few additional circumstances in a clear connection.

I. Of the Episcopal Succession. Though the Church was yet destitute of it, her existence is not to be considered as commencing from the time of her obtaining it. She continued the same body previously known as the Church of England in America; though, in consequence of the dissolution of her union with the parent church by the revolution, a new organization of her government became necessary. This principle was, from the first, maintained by Dr White, and led to very important inferences, as will hereafter appear. And it was some years afterwards approved by a resolution of the general convention in 1814, in the following words: "That the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, is the same body heretofore known in these states by the name of the Church of England; the change of name, although not of religious principle in doctrine, or in worship, or in discipline, being induced by a characteristic of the Church of England, supposing the independence of

Christian churches, under the different sovereignties to which respectively their allegiance in civil concerns belongs. But that when the severance alluded to took place, and ever since, this church conceives of herself as professing and acting on the principles of the Church of England, is evident from the organization of our conventions, and from their subsequent proceedings, as recorded on the journals; to which, accordingly, this convention refer for satisfaction in the premises. But it would be contrary to fact, were any one to infer, that the discipline exercised in this Church, or that any proceedings therein, are at all dependent on the will of the civil or of the ecclesiastical authority of any foreign country."* This declaration was agreed to by the house of bishops on the proposal of Dr White, and was concurred in by the house of clerical and lay deputies.

It was a gratifying, as well as unexpected circumstance, that there was, on the subject of obtaining the succession, a unanimous agreement of opinion in the convention; though a few years before a clamour was made on the *proposal* of an American episcopacy, and objections to it prevailed among a considerable proportion of the members of the Episcopal church itself, and the lay members of the present convention were principally gentlemen who had been active in the late revolution. It was determined, without any opposition, that an application should be made to the bishops

* Journal (Bioren's) pp. 310, 311. And see Memoirs (1st ed.), p. 297.

of the Church of England, to consecrate suitable persons chosen and recommended by the state conventions for their bishops. The resolves containing the plan, and the address to the British bishops were prepared by Dr White, and adopted with only a few verbal alterations.* And a committee was appointed to correspond with those bishops, of which he was chairman.

This committee, after the rising of the convention, transmitted the address to Mr Adams, the American minister in London; with a request that it might be delivered by him to the Archbishop of Canterbury. He readily undertook the service, and delivered it in person to the archbishop; making, during the interview, such remarks, and giving such information on the principles of our government, and on the sentiments of the people of the United States generally, relative to the equal religious rights of all men, as tended to favour the success of the object of the convention; and particularly to satisfy the archbishop that the requested interposition of the English prelates would not give uneasiness and dissatisfaction in America. Through the same gentleman the answer of the archbishops was transmitted to the committee.† The aid thus given by Mr Adams, was liberal and manly. He was himself a member of a Congrega-

* Memoirs (1st ed.), p. 101. For the resolutions and address, see Journal (Bioren's), pp. 11—15; or Memoirs, pp. 348—354.

† Memoirs (1st ed.), pp. 15, 399—402. And for the said answer, see Journal (Bioren's), pp. 19, 20; or Memoirs, pp. 354—356.

tional church in Massachusetts, in which state the opposition to the introduction of episcopacy was thought to be more decided than elsewhere; the aversion to it being strengthened by religious, in addition to political prejudices: and he might, not unreasonably, apprehend injury or inconvenience to himself, in consequence of the part he now took. His own ideas on this point were expressed many years afterwards, in a letter to Bishop White, the principal object of which was to introduce a friend. And his language furnishes proof of the serious nature of the difficulty under which the Episcopal church at first laboured, arising from the existing prejudices against that form of church government. The following is the extract from the letter referred to, which is dated October 29, 1814. "There is no part of my life on which I look back and reflect with more satisfaction, than the part I took, bold, daring and hazardous as it was to myself and mine, in the introduction of episcopacy into America." In an answer from Dr White (dated the 12th of February 1820) to another letter of Mr Adams, for a similar purpose, this language occurs: "I have lately sent to the press a work entitled, 'Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church.' My motive is the perpetuating of the remembrance of some facts which have had an influence on measures, and serve to explain them. One of the facts is, the benevolent agency of Mr Adams, in aid of our endeavours for the obtaining of the episcopal succession. For this reason, on the completion of

the volume, which will be thin 8vo, I shall consider it a duty to request his acceptance of a copy."

Another convention assembled in Philadelphia, according to appointment, in June 1786. Several difficulties existed which caused apprehensions of disunion; two of which related to the episcopacy: first, a dissatisfaction in the minds of some with the Scottish episcopacy, from which Dr Seabury, of Connecticut, had received consecration; and secondly, the hesitation expressed in the answer of the British bishops to the address sent to them by the last convention.

The question relative to the Scottish episcopacy excited some warmth, and was not readily disposed of. Dr White himself was fully satisfied of the validity of the orders conferred upon Dr Seabury by the bishops of Scotland, and advocated a union with him at a proper period. But a few of the clergy were opposed to any recognition of that episcopacy; and several motions were made with a view to obtain the decision of this convention against it. The first was: "that the clergy present produce their letters of orders, or declare by whom they were ordained." One of the clergy present, Mr Pilmore, had been ordained by Bishop Seabury; and another (Mr William Smith, the younger of that name) by one of the Scotch bishops. This motion was negatived. Subsequently another motion was made by the Rev. Mr Provoost, seconded by the Rev. Robert Smith, of South Carolina, "that this convention will resolve to do no act that shall imply the validity of ordinations made by

Dr Seabury." The discussion on it was stopped by the previous question; and the motion was negatived by the votes of four states against three. But as it had been asserted, and urged in argument, that clergymen ordained under the Scottish succession, though settled in churches of the states represented in this convention, were understood to be under canonical subjection to the bishops who ordained them, Dr White, in order to obviate any difficulty or opposition arising from this apprehension, for which he did not himself conceive there was any ground, proposed a resolution, which was unanimously adopted, "that it be recommended to this church in the states here represented, not to receive to the pastoral charge, within their respective limits, clergymen professing canonical subjection to any bishop, in any state or country, other than those bishops who may be duly settled in the states represented in this convention." This temperate measure, while it guarded against the evil, if it should exist, tended to prevent any dispute on the subject with the eastern clergy; and also drew off some lay gentlemen from their intended opposition to such orders. Another prudent precaution was taken by unanimously resolving, on motion of the Rev. Robert Smith, of South Carolina, "that it be recommended to the conventions of the Church represented in this general convention, not to admit any person as a minister within their respective limits, who shall receive ordination from any bishop residing in America

during the application now pending to the English bishops for episcopal consecration."*

The hesitation of the English prelates to give a decided answer to the address sent to them—the other cause of apprehension—does not appear to have been occasioned by any reluctance, on their part, to accede to the request of the convention. But they had received no information from it of the alterations adopted, in the articles, liturgy, or government; and had heard, through private channels, that these were essential deviations from the Church of England, either in doctrine or discipline.† Under these circumstances, they concluded their letter to the committee in this manner: "While we are anxious to give every proof, not only of our brotherly affection, but of our facility in forwarding your wishes, we cannot but be extremely cautious, lest we should be the instruments of establishing an ecclesiastical system which will be called a branch of the Church of England, but afterwards may possibly appear to have departed from it essentially, either in doctrine or in discipline." This first letter was the only one received previous to the meeting of this convention. The liturgy, as altered, and also the constitution adopted, had been sent, though they had not reached England at the date of the letter. And all that the convention could do was to

* Journal (Bioren's), pp. 19, 21, 22. Memoirs (1st ed.), pp. 124, 125.

† Memoirs (1st ed.), pp. 16, 115; in the latter page the cause of the delay of information is stated.

present a second address,* expressing their acknowledgements for the friendly and affectionate letter received, assuring their lordships that the convention neither had departed, nor proposed to depart from the doctrines of the Church of England, and had retained the same discipline and forms of worship, as far as was consistent with our civil institutions; and had made no alterations or omissions in the Book of Common Prayer, but such as that consideration prescribed, and such as were calculated to remove objections, which it appeared more conducive to union and general content to obviate, than to dispute; and repeating their request for the Episcopal succession.

Some time after the adjournment of the convention, the second letter of the English bishops,† signed by the two archbishops, to whom the business was committed, was received by the committee of correspondence; acknowledging the receipt of the liturgy and constitution; stating that a bill had been prepared, and would soon be presented to parliament, conveying the powers necessary for the proposed consecration, and prescribing the requisite proofs of the qualifications of the persons elected. But they added, that after the dispositions thus shown on their part, they thought it incumbent on the committee to use their utmost exertions for the removal of any stumbling-block of offence, which might possibly prove an ob-

* Journal (Bioren's), pp. 27, 28; Memoirs (1st ed.), pp. 18, 125, 360—362.

† Journal (Bioren's), pp. 32—37; Memoirs (1st ed.), 131, 363—372.

stacle to their success; and therefore earnestly exhorted them to restore to its integrity the Apostles' creed, in which one article (the descent into hell) was omitted; and hoped that they would give the two other creeds a place in the Book of Common Prayer, even though the use of them should be left discretional; and expressed their persuasion that some alteration would be thought necessary by the convention, in the article of the constitution relative to the amenability of the clergy to the convention, "which appeared to them to be a degradation of the clerical, and still more of the episcopal character." A third letter* was afterwards received, signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury alone, communicating a copy of the act of parliament† which had been passed; and stating the opinion held in England, that no more than three bishops should be there consecrated for the United States, who might consecrate others at their return, if more were found necessary.

On the receipt of these communications, the com-

* Journal (Bioren's), pp. 37, 38; Memoirs (1st ed.), pp. 372—375.

† It is observable that the act contains a provision that no bishops consecrated under it, nor any bishop, priest or deacon consecrated or ordained by such bishops, or their successors, should be enabled thereby "to exercise his or their respective office or offices within his majesty's dominions." Probably the intention was only to prevent their holding any benefice or cure, and not their occasionally officiating in the churches. It has, however, been so rigidly construed, in England, as to prevent American bishops and presbyters, who have visited that country, from receiving invitations to preach in their pulpits. But this has not been the case in Scotland, Ireland, or the British colonies; in which instances of such invitations have occurred.

mittee of correspondence, agreeably to a power given to them by the convention in June, called a meeting of it, to be held at Wilmington, in Delaware, in October following. Previous to which, a special state convention assembled in Pennsylvania on the 14th of September,* by which Dr White was unanimously elected bishop. Three only of the clergy of that state, besides himself, were present. The other two clergymen belonging to it afterwards expressed their concurrence.

The general convention met accordingly, at Wilmington, in October. They declared their sincere disposition to give every satisfaction to the English prelates, consistent with the union and general content of the church represented by them; and their steadfast resolution to maintain the same essential articles of faith and discipline with the Church of England. They restored the article, "he descended into hell," in the Apostles' creed, and inserted the Nicene creed in the liturgy: but would not admit the Athanasian.† All these determinations were conformable to the sentiments of Dr White. The ground of objection to the article of the constitution relative to the trial of the bishops, and other clergy, had been before removed. The requisite testimonials in favour of Dr White, elected bishop in Pennsylvania, and of the Rev. Mr Provoost, who had been elected in New

* Journal of Pennsylvania, pp. 17, 18.

† Journal (Bioren's), pp. 39—43.

York, were also signed. The duties at this convention were laborious. The committee on the communications from England, of which Dr White was a member, sat up all night to digest the measures recommended in their report, and adopted by the convention.

On the 2d of November, Dr White embarked in the packet of that month for England, in company with Mr Provoost, and arrived at Falmouth on the 20th. When they reached London, they were introduced to the archbishop by Mr Adams, "who, in this particular, and in every instance in which his personal attentions could be either of use or an evidence of his respect and kindness, continued to manifest his concern for the interests of a church of which he was not a member."* Some delay of their consecration was occasioned by the desire of the archbishop to lay before the bishops, then generally absent from the capital in their several dioceses, and not expected to return until the meeting of parliament, about the middle of January, the ground of his proceedings. But on the 4th of February 1787, their consecration took place in Lambeth Chapel. And toward the end of the month, they sailed from Falmouth for New York, where they arrived on the 7th of April, and soon afterwards began the exercise of the Episcopal office, in their respective dioceses. The incidents attending their voyage and abode in England were communicated by Dr White in letters

* Memoirs (1st ed.), p. 20

to the committee of the Church in Pennsylvania; which have been published in the Memoirs of the Church, and are the only documents on the subject.* He was received in his diocese with a joyful and affectionate welcome.

The Church had now two bishops, consecrated in England: and in the next convention, held in 1789, a union was effected with Bishop Seabury and the church in Connecticut. Two sessions were held in that year. At the first, a resolution was unanimously passed in favour of the validity of Bishop Seabury's consecration.† There were consequently three bishops, whose Episcopal authority was recognized; the number canonically requisite for a consecration. And an application was made to them, by the clergy of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, for the consecration of the Rev. Edward Bass, elected their bishop; which was laid before the convention by Bishop White, the president. The convention unanimously requested the bishops (their president, however, not voting), to comply with the prayer of it; but that, before compliance, it should be proposed to the churches in New England to meet the churches represented in the convention, in an adjourned convention, to settle articles of union and discipline among all the churches, previous to such consecration.‡ Bishop White did not conceive himself bound, or indeed at liberty, to com-

* Memoirs (1st ed.), pp. 138—162.

† Journal (Bioren's), pp. 51, 53, 54.

‡ Ibid., p. 54.

ply with this request of the convention. He had been, indeed, from the beginning, persuaded of the validity of Bishop Seabury's consecration, and desirous of bringing him and the Church in Connecticut, into union with the other churches. But he thought that his faith had been impliedly pledged to the English prelates, in consequence of the measures taken by a preceding convention for obtaining the Episcopal succession, that three bishops should be consecrated in England before any consecration in America, so that the succession should be continued in the English line: and he believed that no determination of the convention would warrant a breach of the faith so pledged. In that opinion Bishop Provoost agreed with him: and in a letter to him (dated September 7th, 1789), used this decided language: "As to what you style an implied engagement to the English bishops, I look upon it, in regard to myself, as a positive one. I entered into it *ex animo*, upon principle, and do not wish to ask or to accept a releasement from it." That gentleman was also opposed to complying with the request for another reason—that he was unwilling to recognize the validity of the Scotch succession. He was not, in this matter, supported by his own clergy or convention.*

Dr White was, however, relieved, for the present, from the pain of standing opposed to the wishes of the convention, by the delay which was necessary in con-

* Memoirs (1st ed.), p. 166.

sequence of the intended meeting with the clergy of the eastern states, and of a proposed address of the convention to the English prelates, to obtain their approbation of the desired consecration.* And the difficulty was removed before any action became necessary, by the consecration of Bishop Madison, of Virginia, in England.† Compliance with a similar application from Virginia, in 1787, for the consecration of Dr Griffith, had been declined on the same principle.‡

The convention assembled again, at an adjourned meeting, in September 1789, in Philadelphia; at which Bishop Seabury, with deputies from the Church in Connecticut, and also the Rev. Samuel Parker, deputy from the churches in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. A conference took place between them and a committee of the convention; and the result was that they signed the constitution, with some modifications agreed upon: and the union was completed.

In September 1790, Dr Madison, of Virginia, was consecrated bishop of that diocese by the English prelates; and the American Church thereby obtained the requisite number of bishops to continue canonically the Episcopal succession in the English line.

The first consecration which took place in the United States was that of Dr Claggett, as bishop of Mary-

* Journal (Bioren's), pp. 53, 54, 103—108; Memoirs (1st ed.), pp. 412—416.

† Memoirs (1st ed.), pp. 169, 170. ‡ Ibid., pp. 171, 172, n.

Bps. consecrated by me – Wm: White,
Bp: Prov. of Pa presided at y Consecration
of y Rev Thomas John Claggett DD Sep: 11
1792.

1795. Sep. 14 ---- Rev Robert Smith. DD.
---7--- May 3 ---- Edward Bass. DD.
---- Oct. 10 ---- Abraham Jarvis DD.
1801 --- Sep. 11. ---- Benj: Moore DD.
---4. Sep. 14 ---- Sam: Parker DD.
—11. May 29 ---- John H. Hobart DD
---- Alex. V. Griswold.
---12. Oct. 15 ---- Theodore Dehon DD.
---14. May 10 ---- Richard Channing Moore DD.
--- Sep. 1 ---- James Kemp. DD.
—15. Nov. 19 ---- John Croes DD —
—18 Oct. 8 ---- Nathaniel Bowen DD
—19. Feb 11. ---- Philander Chase —
---- Oct. 27 ---- Thomas C. Brownell DD.
—23. May 22. ---- John Stark Ravenscroft. DD.
—27. Oct. 25 ---- Henry U. Onderdonk. DD
—29 Aug. 19. ---- Rev Wm: Meade. D. D
— 30. Oct. 21 ---- Rev Wm: Murray Stone DD
—— Nov. 26 ---- Rev Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk D.D.
—31. Sep. 22 ---- Rev Levi Silliman Ives. DD
— 32. Oct. 31 ---- Rev John H. Hopkins. DD
---- Rev Benj. B. Smith. DD
Rev Charles P. McIlvaine D.D
Rev George W. Doane. D.D.
— 34 — Jan. 14 ---- Rev James H. Otey. DD
— 35. Sep. 25 ---- Rev Jackson Kemper DD

Bps. consecrated by me — Wm: White

Bp: Provoost presided at y Consecration
of y Rev Thomas John Claggett DD Sept 11
1792.

1795. Sept. 14 ——— Rev Robert Smith. DD.

——7—— Augt ——— Edward Bass. DD.

——— Oct. 10 ——— Abraham Jarvis DD.

1801 — Sept. 11. ——— Benj: Moore DD.

——4. Sept. 14 ——— Sam: Parker DD.

land, at the general convention in 1792, in New York. It was performed by Bishop Provoost, assisted by the other two bishops consecrated in England, and by Bishop Seabury. There was an apprehension, on the part of the last named bishop (which he communicated to Dr White), that it was intended to exclude him from taking any part in the expected consecration. But it was soon found that the apprehension was without sufficient ground, no such design having been thought of; of which, indeed, Dr White from the first expressed his conviction to Dr Seabury. All the bishops were desirous that the three bishops who received their consecration from the Church of England should be present and officiate on the occasion. But there was no objection to Bishop Seabury's uniting with them in the act, as this could not weaken the English line of succession: Bishop Provoost, for the sake of peace, waiving his objection to having any thing to do with the Scotch succession, which he thought irregular.* All the subsequent consecrations, twenty-six in number, until that of Bishop M'Coskry, of Michigan, in July 1836, were performed by Bishop White.

II. Of the Constitution of Government. The constitution adopted by the convention of 1785, comprehended the principles—that there should be triennially a general convention of the Church in the

* Memoirs (1st ed.), pp. 166, 201, 202.

United States, composed of representatives of the clergy and laity in each state, not exceeding four of each order; and on all questions, each state should have one vote, and a majority of suffrages be conclusive; that in every state there should be a convention, consisting of the clergy and lay deputies of the congregations—that in every state where there should be a bishop duly consecrated and settled, and who should have acceded to this general constitution, he should be considered as a member of the convention *ex officio*—that bishops should be chosen according to rules fixed by the respective conventions; and should confine the exercise of their office to their proper jurisdiction, unless requested to ordain or confirm by a Church destitute of a bishop; that every clergyman, of either order, should be amenable to the authority of the convention of the state to which he belongs, so far as relates to suspension or removal from office; and the convention in each state should institute rules for their conduct, and an equitable mode of trial; and that no person should be ordained, or be permitted to officiate in this Church, until he subscribed a declaration of his belief in the Scriptures, as the word of God, and containing all things necessary for salvation, and of his engaging to conform to the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Provision was also made for the future admission of churches not then represented, and for the use of the liturgy, as altered by the convention. And this constitution, when ratified by the Church in the different

states, was declared fundamental, and unalterable by the convention of any state.*

The constitution was drafted by Dr White, as member of a subcommittee of a larger committee appointed for that purpose.† In most of the main articles, it was nearly conformable to his own opinions; but in some important particulars was contrary to his judgment. When he found that he could not procure the adoption of those preferred by him, he relinquished opposition; being unwilling to hazard, on account of them, the attainment of the paramount object of a union and organization of the whole Church; and trusting that favourable opportunities would afterwards occur for improvement. And in this he was not disappointed. Various alterations were, from time to time, introduced, which will be traced in connection with each of the leading principles, on which there existed a diversity of opinion. They brought the constitution to a form more nearly agreeable to his sentiments than that in which it was at first adopted.

1. The admission of the laity to a share in the government of the Church, was advocated by him in the pamphlet of 1782; and at the present period he was considered as the proposer of the measure. It had obtained the approbation of the clergy of Maryland, in 1783;‡ of the convention of Pennsylvania, in May 1784;§ of the clergy met in Boston, in September

* Journal (Bioren's), pp. 8—10.
† Memoirs (1st ed.), p. 93.
‡ Ibid., pp. 87, 89.
§ Ibid., p. 73.

1784;* and of the meeting, before mentioned, at New York, in October 1784. But in Connecticut it was objected to.† Dr White maintained its lawfulness and propriety, because agreeable to Scripture and primitive usage; and its great expediency, and even necessity, in the circumstances of the American Church. He remarked also that it was conformable, in substance, though not in form, to the principles of the Church of England: according to which, the legislative acts of the convocation are not binding on the laity (they not being represented in it), until confirmed by parliament: and we could not have a substitute for this parliamentary sanction in any other way than by assembling the representatives of the clergy and laity in one body.‡ This part of the original constitution continues to the present day. It was consented to with reluctance by Bishop Seabury and the clergy of Connecticut, when they acceded to the union, in 1789. But on their solicitation, the article providing that in *each state* there should be a convention consisting of the clergy and lay deputies, was omitted. This omission was not caused by disapprobation of the principle of the article, which has been to the present time acted on in the several states; but was designed to conciliate the clergy of Connecticut, by allowing a latitude on that subject, which would enable them to organize the convention of their own state on the prin-

* Memoirs (1st ed.), p. 69. † Ibid., pp. 71, 72, 344—346.

‡ See Pamphlet, pp. 9, 10; Memoirs (1st ed.), pp. 74—83, 129.

ciples preferred by themselves. Accordingly all ecclesiastical matters were there left, for a time, to the management of the clergy alone. The wisdom of this conciliatory course afterwards appeared. The effect of it was to disarm opposition, which might have been irritated and strengthened by a rigid requisition that all the state conventions should be so constituted: and it excited a similar conciliatory temper in the clergy of Connecticut. The pleasing consequence resulted, that in the general convention of 1792, lay as well as clerical deputies appeared from that state: and their state convention has been also organized on the same principle adopted in the other states, by admitting into it lay deputies from the congregations. On this subject Bishop White makes the following remark:* "The aversion entertained by the clergy in that state, to this part of the institution in the more southern, had been one of the principal impediments to a union: and when it was at last effected, it was with a latitude to them in this article. Some of the laity, at the time, were afraid that this would be the beginning of rejecting them entirely. But the event ought to be noticed, as a proof, that forbearance and mutual toleration are at least sometimes a shorter way to unity than severity and stiffness."

This admission of the laity to a share in the government, is at present, as is believed, approved universally; and has been found, in operation, highly

* Memoirs (1st ed.), pp. 202, 203.

beneficial: the useful check mutually possessed by the several orders on each other securing caution, deliberation, and a regard to the advantage and sentiments of all in framing its laws and institutions; and on the part of the laity, a greater interest being naturally excited for the advancement of the Church, and a greater readiness to conform to its laws and regulations, in consequence of their being assented to by their own representatives. Perhaps no one principle has been more efficient in promoting union, harmony, and general prosperity.

2. By the constitution, as first adopted, the bishops were made only members *ex officio* of the convention, without a recognition of their official right to preside. This was contrary to the judgment of Dr White, and was loudly objected to by the eastern clergy. The constitution as framed by him, and reported by the committee to the convention, had provided that a bishop, if any were present, should preside. But it was altered in the convention. The clergy, indeed, with one exception, were in favour of the clause as reported; and could, as the vote was by orders, have prevented the alteration. But this would have caused a rejection of the whole clause, which appeared to them wrong; because it contained nothing opposed to episcopal presidency, and their right to be members was an object which ought to be secured. The article accordingly was passed without providing for the presidency. "It was considered that practice might settle what had better be provided for by law: and

that even such provision might be the result of a more mature consideration of the subject. The latter expectation was justified by the event."*

It appears, clearly, from the subsequent history of the Church, that the jealousies of episcopal authority, at first prevailing extensively among Episcopalians themselves, were in a few years removed, and were succeeded by increasing attachment and confidence. Experience of its beneficial operation, the moderate principles generally maintained respecting its needful extent, and the manner in which it has been actually exercised, have led to a gradual and very considerable enlargement of it. The right of presiding was secured to the bishops in 1786;† and in the first convention held after their consecration, that of 1789, Bishop White accordingly presided. At the first session of that convention, at which the constitution of 1786 was reviewed, and finally ratified, the same rights were conferred on them until there should be three bishops of the Church: and it was provided that, on this event, they should form a separate house: but their power was confined to a *revision* of the acts of the other house, and should their concurrence be refused, the act might notwithstanding be passed by a majority of three-fifths of that house.‡ On this subject Bishop White did not take any active part; "and interested himself very little; being desirous that

* Memoirs (1st ed.), pp. 93, 94.

† Journal (Bioren's), pp. 22—25.

‡ Ibid., pp, 61, 62.

whatever additional powers it might be thought necessary to assign to the bishops, such powers should not lie under the reproach of having been pressed for by one of the number; but be the result of due deliberation, and the free choice of all orders of persons within the Church, and given with a view to her good government."* Their powers were again enlarged by the same convention, at its adjourned session in September. For the result of the conference which then took place between Bishop Seabury, together with the eastern clergy and a committee of the convention was, that the former expressed their readiness to agree to the constitution adopted at the preceding session, if it was so modified as to declare explicitly the right of the bishops, when sitting in a separate house, to originate and propose acts for the concurrence of the other house, and to negative such acts proposed by that house, as they might disapprove.†

The convention assented to the first clause of this proposition; but added to the second the words "provided they are not adhered to by four-fifths of the other house." From the sentiments expressed in debate, there is reason to believe that an absolute negative would have been then agreed to without difficulty, had not a lay delegate from Virginia expressed an apprehension that it was so far beyond what was expected by the Church in that state, as to cause their dissent to the measures. In consequence of which, a

* Memoirs (1st ed.), p. 171. † Journal (Bioren's), p. 73.

proposition was offered to confer upon the house of bishops the full negative; and it was ordered that it should be notified to the state conventions that it would be decided on at the next general convention. Bishop Seabury and the deputies from the churches in New England acquiesced, though with reluctance, in this compromise.* "Had there been no more," says Bishop White, "than their apprehension of laws passing by a majority of four-fifths, after a non-concurrence of the bishops; the extreme improbability of this would, it is thought, have been confessed by them. But the truth is, they thought that the frame of ecclesiastical government could hardly be called Episcopal, while such a matter was held out as speculatively possible."

The proposed amendment was several times, in the following conventions, discussed in the house of clerical and lay deputies,† without any final determination, until the convention of 1808; when the full negative was conferred on the house of bishops, by striking out of the constitution the words "provided they are not adhered to by four-fifths of the other house."‡ Thus their legislative powers were placed on an equality, in every respect, with those of the house of clerical and lay deputies. The opinion of the house of deputies was unanimous in favour of the alteration;

* Memoirs (1st ed.), pp. 174, 175.

† Journal (Bioren's), pp. 116, 117, 140, 148, 221, 228.

‡ Ibid., 248, 249, 257.

all the states, except Pennsylvania, voting for it, and that state being divided only because the lay deputies, though in favour of the alteration themselves, believed that they could not with propriety vote for it, inasmuch as it did not appear from the journals, nor was it recollected, that notice of the proposed alteration had been given to the convention of that state according to the constitution.*

Bishop White thus expresses his own sentiments on the subject of the full negative:† "It is to be hoped, that the recollection of the course of this business, as found in the various journals, will show the propriety of leaving to time and mature reflection, to effect what may be for a while opposed by prejudices, not to be disregarded without extreme danger. What is here said, however, is designed of those prejudices only, which may be yielded to without the sacrifice of essential principle. This was the case in the present instance; and must have been perceived to be such, even by those who conceive the highest of episcopal claims. In the year 1785, even the necessity of the presidency of a bishop, when such a character should be obtained by consecration, and should be present in the convention, was rejected. Still, nothing was decreed to the contrary; and in the next year, the absurd prejudice against the proposal was overruled. When another constitution was formed in 1789, if a provision for the episcopal negative had been insisted on, it

* Memoirs (1st ed.), pp. 258, 259. † Ibid., 257, 258.

would have been destructive of the whole system. Nevertheless, in the many years intervening, no measure has passed, under the refusal of the episcopal sanction. Indeed, it may be a question, whether, had things remained on the old footing of the three-fifths, made necessary to carry any resolution contrary to the opinion of the house of bishops, the weight of their negative would not have had more effect, than under the present change. This would have happened in the following manner. There would always be in the other house a proportion who would doubt of the validity of a measure, adopted without the episcopal sanction. Some of these would occasionally differ from the bishops, on a subject under consideration. But when the dissent of the bishops should have been declared, those of the description referred to would have thrown themselves into the scale, against the putting of the matter to the test of the three-fifths. This supposition has been verified, in a transaction which took place between the two houses of the convention of 1804. It is evident to the author's mind, that owing to the causes stated, while it would be scarcely possible ever to carry a measure against the bishops, there would be a discouragement of even that free discussion with them, which may be expected to take place sometimes, under their present full possession of a negative." The greatest harmony has always existed between the two houses. And the increasing confidence in the episcopal authority, and attachment to it, could scarcely be more strongly

manifested than it was by the whole proceedings of the convention of 1835, the last attended by Bishop White.

3. The article which rendered every clergyman amenable to the convention of the state to which he should belong, was objected to both here and by the English bishops, who considered it "a degradation of the clerical, and much more of the episcopal character." The ground of the objection appears to have been, that it rendered a bishop liable to be censured or deposed by the decision of presbyters and laymen, and a presbyter or deacon by laymen. But this was not intended. Nor did the article so declare; though it may have been faulty in omitting an explicit guard against the matter objected to. They might be amenable to the convention, by being liable to trial agreeably to laws enacted by it.* Such an explanation was added by Dr White to the principle, as stated in his pamphlet of 1782.† At the next convention, 1786, a clause was accordingly added, on his motion, providing that "at every trial of a bishop, there shall be one or more of the episcopal order present: and none but a bishop shall pronounce sentence of deposition or degradation from the ministry, on any clergyman, whether bishop, or presbyter, or deacon."‡

4. The equal vote allowed to every state was not approved by Dr White: but was insisted on, much to

* Memoirs (1st ed.), pp. 94, 95.

† *Ante*, p. 81.

‡ Journal (Bioren's), pp. 22, 25.

his regret. It was the principle of the articles of confederation by which the United States were then governed. His sentiments on this subject are contained in a paper drawn up by him, shortly before the general convention of 1829, on several questions expected to arise in that convention, in consequence of the terms on which the Rev. William Meade had been elected assistant bishop of Virginia. The passage is as follows: "There having been brought into view the disproportionate state of the representation" (in the house of deputies), "the writer will embrace the opportunity of expressing his regret, that this was an essential requisition in the organizing of the American Church; and his fears that it may, in future, be the cause of a severing of the bond of union. On the occurrence of differences of views, on any points esteemed deeply interesting, if the votes of the representation of the smaller number should bear down those of the representatives of a confessedly much greater number, both clerical and lay, it is not probable, that the latter will think themselves bound, in consequence, to compliance. But instead of being discouraged by the anticipation of a possible rupture, let us look up, with humble trust, to the Saviour's protection of his Church; not without the hope, that she will in time adopt the policy which has governed in the concerns of state; that of moderating the sectional selfishness, which gave birth to the unfair partiality in the confederation of the thirteen United States; and which has eventuated in the more just

distribution of legislative power, of which we may say, in the words of Father Paul of Venice, '*esto perpetua.*'"

5. The mode in which the proposed constitution should be ratified was subsequently changed. Another convention assembled in June 1786. It met under circumstances very discouraging, and producing apprehensions in the minds of even the most sanguine friends of the Church, that her union, as yet slight, and scarcely commenced, and very far, certainly, from being completed, would be wholly dissolved. The threatening difficulties were, however, obviated by the prudent course pursued. They arose from several causes; two of which—dissatisfaction in the minds of some with the Scottish episcopacy, and the hesitation expressed in the first letter of the English bishops—have been already mentioned. The others were the interfering instructions given by the state conventions to their deputies in the general convention, relative to some of the proceedings of the last convention; and the rejection of the proposed liturgy in some states, and the use of it in others. With respect to the first, when the documents had been laid before the convention, an embarrassing and probably exciting discussion, not at present necessary, was avoided by a resolution adopted on the motion of Dr White, that they should be referred to the first general convention assembled with sufficient powers to determine on them. These interfering instructions, however, proved ultimately beneficial; because they

manifested the necessity of a well constituted legislative body for the whole church, and the futility of subjecting their measures to the review and authoritative judgment of the state conventions, by whom the deputies to it were appointed. And such a system appeared so evidently fruitful of discord and disunion, that it was abandoned from this time.* One effect of this appeared now. For though the constitution proposed in 1785 had been declared to be fundamental, "when ratified by the Church in the different states," yet on the review of it which now took place, that article was altered so as to require a ratification "by the Church in a majority of the states assembled in general convention, with sufficient power for the purpose of such ratification."† On the second cause of difficulty, the expedient was adopted by the deputies of the churches which received, and of those which had rejected or been silent on the proposed liturgy, to leave the subject, with respect to both, in the same state in which it was, for the present.‡

The constitution thus framed in 1786 was acted under, as formerly stated, although not ratified until the convention of 1789; at which the deputies from the several states appeared with sufficient powers for that object; as was recommended by the preceding convention.§ And a general constitution was then

* Memoirs (1st ed.), pp. 123, 124; Journal (Bioren's), p. 22.

† Ibid., pp. 23, 26.

‡ Memoirs (1st ed.), p. 124; See Journal (Bioren's), pp. 24, 25, art. 4 and 9.

§ Ibid., pp. 26, 48.

adopted, and finally ratified, without being submitted to the state conventions. In order to give stability to it, by preventing hasty changes, it was also provided that the constitution should be unalterable, unless in general convention; and that the alterations should be first proposed in one general convention, and made known to the several state conventions, before they should be finally ratified.*

III. Of the Liturgy. The Liturgy of the Church of England was used, without alteration, until the 4th of July 1776; on which day, after the independence of the colonies had been declared by congress, a resolution was adopted at a meeting of the vestry of Christ Church and St Peter's, that in consequence of that event it would "be proper to omit those petitions in the liturgy wherein the king of Great Britain is prayed for, as inconsistent with the said declaration;" and the rector and assistant ministers were requested to omit such petitions. No other change took place until the convention of 1785. One of the subjects which engaged the attention of that body was the making of such alterations in the liturgy as were necessary to accommodate it to the civil changes which had taken place in consequence of the revolution. The convention went further on this subject than was contemplated in the recommendations of the meeting at New York; according to which the liturgy of the Church

* Journal (Bioren's), p. 63.

of England was to be adhered to "as far as shall be consistent with the American revolution, and the constitutions of the respective states." And when the deputies first assembled, "very few, or rather, it is believed," says Dr White,* "none of them entertained thoughts of altering the liturgy any further." "Every one, so far as is here known, wished for alterations in the different offices. But it was thought at New York, in the preceding year, that such an enterprize could not not be undertaken, until the Church should be consolidated and organized. Perhaps it would have been better if the same opinion had been continued and acted on." But it was found that, for various reasons suggested in debate, a moderate review fell in with the sentiments and wishes of every member; and there was a persuasion that the communion in general would be gratified by it, and readily acquiesce. It was therefore undertaken. The alterations were prepared by another subdivision of the general committee appointed, than that to which Dr White belonged, and were not reconsidered in that committee, as the same ground would be gone over in convention. Even in the convention, few points were canvassed with any material difference of opinion.† Their proceedings resulted in only proposing and recommending the liturgy as altered by them; which, however, never received the first sanction of the Church. It was published by order of the convention, in what

* Memoirs, (1st ed.), pp. 102, 103. † Ibid., pp. 104—110.

has been always since called "the Proposed Book;" the committee appointed for the purpose being Dr White, Dr William Smith, and Dr Wharton. It was directed that "the book be accompanied with a proper preface, or address, setting forth the reason and expediency of the alterations:" and the committee had "liberty to make verbal and grammatical corrections; but in such manner, as that nothing in form or substance be altered:" and they were authorized to publish with it, "such of the reading and singing psalms, and such a calendar of proper lessons for the different Sundays and holydays throughout the year, as they may think proper."*

On this committee, Dr White undertook and performed the task of selecting the lessons from Scripture for the Sundays and holydays throughout the year, including the second lessons, which are not, except in a few instances, appointed in the English book, but are taken from the calendar. Suggestions, with respect to some of them, were made by Dr Wharton. They were, for the most part, the same with those now appointed in our Book of Common Prayer. The selection and arrangement of the reading† and metre psalms and the hymns, were undertaken by Drs Smith and Wharton. And the preface was prepared by Dr Smith.‡ The liturgy, thus altered, was volun-

* Journal (Bioren's), p. 15.

† See Memoirs (1st ed.), p. 112; where Dr White's dissent from the opinion of the other members of the committee is stated.

‡ The parts performed by the several members of the committee are stated from letters of Drs Smith and Wharton to Dr White.

tarily used in some of the churches: but it was disapproved by others, who continued to use the former one, with those changes only which adapted it to the civil state of the country.

The variations from the English liturgy in this "proposed book," were much more numerous and important than those which were introduced on the subsequent review in 1789. But they were not regarded by the English bishops as essentially departing from the principles of the Church of England, except in relation to the creeds. They were thought, however, by many, to be greater than the situation or wishes of the Church required or justified. This circumstance, combined with the doubts of the propriety of engaging at all in the enterprise of making alterations before the Church was consolidated and organized, produced much opposition. And a useful warning was thus given against introducing, without very obvious necessity or advantage, extensive changes in institutions to which the members of the Church have, by long usage, become attached.

When the book was laid before the state conventions, their resolutions in relation to it were very various. Different and opposing instructions on the subject were given to their deputies in the succeeding convention, to be held in 1786. The manner in which the difficulties likely to arise from them were obviated, was mentioned in a preceding page.*

* *Ante*, pp. 134, 135.

After the convention of 1789 had passed their resolution in favour of the validity of Bishop Seabury's consecration, and he, with the eastern clergy, had agreed to the constitution, there were three recognized bishops of the Church. According to the constitution, they now formed a separate house, and assembled as such; only two, however, being present, as Bishop Provoost was detained at home by illness. The convention was thus fully organized, and was regarded by all—whatever differences of opinion had existed relative to the powers of former conventions—as possessed of complete authority to adopt alterations of the liturgy, and all other legislative measures requisite for the government of the Church. A review of the liturgy took place. Some of the proposed alterations originated in the house of bishops, and others in the house of deputies. The proceedings of the former, composed of only two members, who, though differing in opinion on some points, were mutually disposed to concession on such as did not involve essential principles, were more expeditious than those of the latter. And there was a striking difference in the course adopted in the consideration of the liturgy, by the two houses. The bishops proceeded on the principle that the Church, being the same body which existed before the revolution, though under another name, was still in possession of all the institutions previously received, except so far as they were necessarily changed by that event, until they were altered by proper authority. They therefore took the former liturgy as the

basis of their measures, and proposed alterations. While the other house proceeded as if the Church was destitute of any institutions until they were provided by the authority of the convention, and appointed committees to prepare *de novo* the several offices.* This differed from the course taken both by previous and subsequent conventions; and being confined to one house, and not at any time afterwards pursued, cannot be regarded as an authoritative determination against the principle adopted by the bishops. In this manner the liturgy was reviewed, and reduced to the form in

* Journal (Bioren's), pp. 78, 79; see pp. 107, 108 *ante*. Dr White's own sentiments on this subject are stated in the Memoirs of the Church (1st ed.), pp. 175—178. In reference to the general principle above mentioned, the following facts appear to be important and interesting. No notice was taken of the offices for ordination, either in the "proposed book" or on the review in 1789. They were first reviewed, altered and agreed to by the two houses in the convention of 1792. (Journal, pp. 117, 123, 124.) But notwithstanding, Dr White, in the ordinations which took place previously in Pennsylvania, used the offices of the Church of England, omitting only those parts which have a relation to the government and laws of Great Britain. This was conformable to his constant opinion, that the old institutions remained in force, except as far as necessarily changed by the revolution, until altered by the authority of the Church. (See Comparative Views of the Calvinistic and Arminian Controversy, vol. 2, pp. 191, 192.) The same principle affected another subject, which was at different times brought before the general convention, but not decided upon—the table of the degrees of consanguinity and affinity, within which marriages are prohibited by the Church of England. (See Journal, p. 259; Memoirs, p. 32.) It was referred to a committee, of which Bishop White was chairman. A report was prepared by him, but does not appear to have been made to the convention. It is inserted in the Appendix, with parts of two letters to Bishop Hobart, on the same subject. Appendix, No. III.

which it still continues, with the exception of a few slight alterations since made.*

The psalms and hymns in metre are not properly a part of the liturgy; but being contained in the same book, may properly be here mentioned. In the "proposed book," a *selection* was made from Tate and Brady's version of the Psalms; to which fifty-one hymns were added. But the convention of 1789 rejected the selection of psalms, inserted the whole of Tate and Brady's version, and added only twenty-six hymns. Thirty others were afterwards selected by the general convention in 1808. Bishop White's sentiments on these measures are stated at large in his Memoirs of the Church.† Some evils which he prognosticated, in fact resulted. The satisfaction with the selection of hymns did not long continue. After a few conventions, a strong desire existed in a great part of the Church, to enlarge their number. And a selection from the Psalms, instead of the whole version, was also wished for. Both propositions were disapproved by him.‡ But when they were adopted

* On some points the two houses differed in opinion. These related to the Athanasian creed, the article of the descent into hell in the Apostles' creed, and the reading psalms. Some individual deputies objected also to the alteration of the consecration prayer, in the communion service. Dr White's course and sentiments on them are detailed in the Memoirs of the Church (1st ed.), pp. 110—114, 179—198, 285, 286; to which I can make no addition.

† (1st ed.), pp. 262—276.

‡ He laid before the joint committee a paper containing his sentiments, which is inserted in the Appendix to the Memoirs of the Church

by the two houses, and a joint committee was appointed to make the selection of psalms and hymns, he was one of the bishops named on it, and freely gave his aid in accomplishing the work. The selections made are those now in use.

The alterations in the ordination offices, on the review of them in 1792, were prepared by the bishops. There was no material difference of opinion, except in regard to the words used by the bishop with the imposition of hands in the ordination of priests—"Receive the Holy Ghost," &c. Bishop Seabury, who alone was tenacious of this form, consented, at last, with great reluctance, to allow the alternative—"Take thou authority to execute the office of a priest," &c., as it now stands.*

IV. Of the Articles of Religion. In the "proposed book," the articles were reduced in number to twenty. These were regarded by the English bishops as containing the essential principles of the Gospel; and no objection was made to them, except to that relating to the creeds, as already mentioned. But they never received the sanction of the Church.

(2d ed.), No. 35. In the Appendix to this Memoir (No. IV.), will be found two letters (on a kindred subject) written by him to the Rev. Dr Abercrombie, and occasioned by a publication of the Rev. Dr William Smith (of New York), on chanting compared with singing in metre: from which it appears that he was, so far as he knew, the first clergyman in the United States who introduced chanting into any of our churches. See also Memoirs (2d ed.), pp. 261, 262, 264.

* See Memoirs (1st ed.), pp. 203, 204.

While they were under consideration in the convention, Dr White manifested his anxiety to prevent the use of any language having a tendency, even though only apparent, to oppose the great doctrine that salvation is of mere grace. The article on justification, as proposed in the report of the subcommittee, was objected to by him and Dr Griffith. It was at last withdrawn, and the eleventh article of the Church of England inserted. Their objection to the proposed article "was its being liable to a construction contrary to the great evangelical truth, that salvation is of grace. It would have been a forced construction, but not to be disregarded." At that time he was desirous that the article on predestination "should be accommodated, not to individual condition, and to everlasting reward and punishment, but to national designation, and to a state of covenant with God in the present life." The language proposed by him, and inserted by the convention of Pennsylvania, in their instructions to their deputies in the general convention in 1786, was: "Predestination is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed, by his counsel, to admit to the inestimable privileges of the Gospel dispensation, all those Gentiles, as well as Jews, who should believe in his son Jesus Christ: they, through grace, obey the calling of God: they be justified freely: they be made sons of God by adoption: they be made like the image of his only begotten Son, Jesus Christ: they walk religiously in good works: and at length,

by God's mercy, they attain to everlasting felicity."* This view of the subject he always continued to entertain: but was afterwards "convinced, that the introducing of it as an article would have endangered needless controversy, on the meanings of the terms predestination and election, as used in the New Testament. If we cannot do away the ground of controversy heretofore laid, it at least becomes us to avoid the furnishing of new matter for the excitement of it."† Had articles been afterwards framed anew, he would, without doubt, have advocated the entire omission of the subject.‡

The thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, with the exception of the political parts abrogated by the revolution, were still the acknowledged faith of this Church, even before they were sanctioned by any resolution of the convention. But without some modifications in their language, and in the manner in which they should be set forth, they could not, with propriety, be published as her confession of faith.§ They were long under the consideration of the general convention.

In the early periods of the discussion, there was much difference of sentiment on the expediency of having articles of religion at all.‖ Bishop Madison

* Journal of Pennsylvania, pp. 15, 16.

† Memoirs (1st ed.), pp. 107—109.

‡ See 1 Comp. Views, p. 140; 2 Comp. Views, pp. 61, 62.

§ Memoirs (1st ed.), p. 229; 2 Comp. Views, p. 192.

‖ Memoirs (1st ed.), pp. 205—208, 230—232.

gave his opinion against them altogether, on the principles of the Confessional, and the like books; and Bishop Provoost, as Dr White always supposed, did not materially differ from him, but being in the presidential chair at the time of the discussion in his presence, did not deliver his sentiments. Bishop Seabury at first expressed in conversation a doubt whether it were expedient to have any; thinking that all necessary doctrine should be comprehended in the liturgy, by which the object of articles might be accomplished. But afterwards, he saw so clearly the inconveniences likely to result from the want of an authoritative form of public confession, that he wished to adopt one, and, as was understood, the code of the thirty-nine articles. Bishop Claggett was in favour of them. Bishop White "professed himself an advocate for articles;* the abolishing of which would, he thought, only leave with every pastor of a congregation the right of judging of orthodoxy, according to his discretion or his prejudices; while the articles determine that matter by a rule, issuing from the public authority of the Church."

In 1789 the bishops proposed a ratification of the thirty-nine articles, with an exception in regard to the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh; but, with their concurrence, the subject was referred, in the house of deputies, to a future convention.† In 1792, the bishops were ready to undertake the review of them;

* See Memoirs (1st ed.), pp. 205—208, 229—241.

† Journal (Bioren's), pp. 85, 92.

but as the churches in some of the states were not represented in that convention, and others only partially, the subject was postponed by the house of deputies.* For similar reasons, it was again postponed by the convention of 1795, on the proposal of the bishops.† At the next convention, in 1799, it was brought before the house of deputies; which "resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the propriety of framing articles of religion." The committee of the whole reported to the house a resolution, "that the articles of our faith and religion, as founded on the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, are sufficiently declared in our creeds and liturgy, as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer established for the use of this Church; and that further articles do not appear necessary." But this was negatived in the house: and a committee was subsequently appointed to frame articles. They reported seventeen. But the house of deputies resolved that, on account of the advanced period of the session, and the thinness of the convention, the consideration of them should be postponed; and that the secretary should transcribe the articles into the journal, to lie over for the consideration of the next general convention.‡ On this publication of the proposed articles in the journal, Dr White remarks, that "the bishops had no opportunity of expressing their sense on the ques-

* Journal (Bioren's), pp. 117, 124; Memoirs (1st ed.), p. 208.

† Journal, pp. 148, 140, 144. ‡ Ibid., 164, 165, 167, 168—172.

tion of publishing the draft of articles which it (the journal) contains. Such a publication was certainly very injudicious; if for no other reason, because it might have been expected to be easily mistaken for the sense of at least one of the houses of the convention. Indeed it was so misunderstood: whereas it was the sense of a committee only; not an individual besides having delivered in his place any opinion on any article. But this was not the worst. It tended to excite religious acrimony, without any possible good effect at the present; and with the probable bad effect of the greater acrimony, on an opportunity of settlement in future."* He disapproves of the application of the term "priesthood," in one of the articles, "to denote all the orders of the Christian ministry; and not confined to the order of presbyters, as in the established ordinal; of the former of which there is no example in the institutions of the Church of England." And he adds; "It is not here designed to charge any other fault on the articles proposed. They are, in substance, what is contained in the thirty-nine articles, without any superaddition, except in the particular stated. But the remarks may serve to show, that in the work of clearing that code of what may be thought unnecessary positions, there is danger of admitting some novelty, more fruitful of controversy than what may be done away. In the present instance, the novelty introduced is susceptible of the construction, of

* Memoirs (1st ed.), p. 224.

obtruding on the church the notions of 'sacrifice,' in the strict and proper sense; of 'altar' as the place of it; and of 'priest' as the sacrificer."*

The articles were at length reviewed and established by a resolution of the two houses, in 1801. As the subject had been so frequently before them, and in various forms, the fullest opportunity had been given to ascertain the sentiments of the Church at large, and to adopt deliberately the most judicious determination. "As to repeated discussions and propositions, it had been found that the doctrines of the Gospel, as they stand in the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, with the exception of such matters as are local, were more likely to give general satisfaction, than the same doctrines in any new form that might be devised. The former were therefore adopted by the two houses of convention, without their altering of even the obsolete diction in them; but with notices of such changes as change of situation had rendered necessary. Exclusively of such, there is one exception; that of adopting the article concerning the creeds, to the former exclusion of the Athanasian."† By the form of the resolution of the two houses,‡ the previous obligation of the articles as a profession of religious faith, is impliedly recognized: the language being—"the articles of religion are hereby ordered to be set forth, with the following directions to be observed in

* Memoirs (1st ed.), p. 226.

† Ibid., p. 28.

‡ Journal (Bioren's), pp. 206, 207.

all future editions of the same:" and again; "the articles to stand as in the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, with the following alterations and omissions."

The reasons for adhering to the thirty-nine articles, in reference to forming new ones, are thus stated by Dr White.* "When the question has been put—Whether the thirty-nine articles are the best rule that can be devised; the author has answered, that he thought them better than any other, likely to be obtained under present circumstances. Conventional business is too much hurried, and the members of the conventions are not sufficiently retired from other avocations, for the entering on determinations of this magnitude. Even if the greater number of the body should be conceded to be sufficiently learned for the work; ecclesiastical legislation has not been of sufficiently long standing in this Church, to have established the characters of those who exercise it, as to this point, in the estimation of the world. Until such a character shall be established, a few obstinate or factious men will overset, in their respective congregations, what shall have been enacted in convention. Besides, many persons among the laity, and some even among the clergy, had declared their determination to abide by the articles at all events: which made it much to be feared that a schism would take place, whenever any material change should be determined

* Memoirs (1st ed.), pp. 205—207; see also pp. 232—234.

on. In this case, they who should adhere to the articles, would claim their relation to the Church of England; while it would be questionable, whether the others would have any permanent tie among themselves.

"Therefore, the author wished for an adherence to the thirty-nine articles, not excepting the general principles maintained in the political parts of them; but with an exception, in the ratification, of the local application of the said parts according to the letter of them. But he did not wish to have the articles signed, as in England, according to the tenor of the thirty-sixth canon of that church. He preferred the resting of the obligation of them on the promises made at ordination, as required by the seventh article of the constitution,* considered as sufficient by the English bishops: which would render them articles of peace, as they are sometimes said to be in the Church of England; but not with such evident propriety as they would then be in the American Church. As the author approves of the general tenor of the thirty-nine articles, he trusted, that however he might have supposed, in his private judgment, the possibility of omitting some of them, and of altering others to advantage; yet not perceiving a probability, either that such a change, if made, would have been for the better; or, that if so, it would have found such general accep-

* No other assent to the articles has yet been required in our Church.

tance as to prove a sufficient bond of union; he thought he acted consistently, in endeavouring to obtain them on the terms stated."*

V. Of the Canons. A code of canons was to be framed for the regulation of the Church—a matter of importance and difficulty. Dr White's experience, learning and judgment were of signal use in forming and improving it. It was almost entirely a work to be commenced *de novo*. For though the canons of the Church of England supplied many excellent principles, worthy of being adopted, yet the situation of the two churches was so different, that no further aid could be derived from them. In England there existed the metropolitan authority, ecclesiastical courts with extensive powers and a regular course of proceeding, and various subordinate church officers: and with a reference to all these her canons were formed. But none of them existed in the church in the United States. Her organization was very simple; and the exercise of executive and judicial powers, and the administration of other parts of discipline, were to be regulated by canonical rules accommodated to it. The work was commenced by the convention of 1789; at the first session of which ten canons were adopted, and a committee, of which Bishop White was chair-

* A mode of reviewing the articles, if a review should be thought proper (of which, however, he did not perceive that there was now any need), is recommended by him; See Memoirs (1st ed.), pp. 225, 226, 240; 2 Comp. Views, 192.

man, was appointed to report additional canons to the next session. That committee reviewed the former ten canons, and added others, reporting seventeen; which were adopted by the two houses, without any interesting difference of opinion.* It is a proof of the care and judgment with which they were compiled, that the principles contained in them still remain, with little material alteration, in the canons now in force. They were enlarged and improved from time to time; as the wants of the Church and experience of their practical operation suggested: until, in 1832, after a careful and deliberate review and enlargement of them by a committee appointed six years before, a wise and well-matured body of canons was established by the general convention; in which very few alterations, and those not of considerable importance, have been since found useful. In all these proceedings, Bishop White took a prominent part; and his opinions, on the various subjects considered, were carefully formed, and much respected. In the interpretation of the canons, also, and the application of their principles to particular cases, he manifested great ability and judgment: so that he was very frequently consulted by the ecclesiastical authorities of other dioceses. And this was not a consequence of his station of presiding bishop; for in that he possessed no authority on this subject, superior to that of any other

* Journal (Bioren's), pp. 58—60, 83, 84, 93—99; Memoirs (1st ed.), 24, 189.

bishop; but of respect for himself personally, and of confidence in his skill, experience and impartiality.

Having thus, as formerly proposed,* stated the facts relating to the course pursued on the most interesting subjects, until the leading principles for governing the Church and regulating its doctrines and worship became settled, we now revert to the regular course of the incidents subsequent to the convention of 1789.

By the proceedings of that body, and by the consecration of Dr Madison by the English bishops, in the following year, the Church became happily and fully organized. But for a considerable period, her progress in improvement was slow and gradual. It required a long time to elapse, and steady and laborious, though unostentatious exertions to be used, before the operation of her government and institutions could be felt, and their beneficial influence become manifest. The number of clergy also, without an increased supply of whom an extension of her bounds could not be expected, was slowly enlarged. In Bishop White's diocese, the number continued, for some years, so small, that even the old parishes existing before the revolution could not be supplied. Endeavours were used, by the settled clergy of the diocese, to supply them with occasional services, according to resolutions passed by the state convention. But the effect could be only to preserve them in existence and union, without contributing, in any important degree, to their improvement and enlargement: much less could the

* *Ante*, p. 106.

formation of new congregations be attempted. In this depressed, though gradually improving condition, the Church in Pennsylvania continued in the remainder of the century, and several of the early years of the next. During this period nothing further occurred, worthy of relation, except a few facts relating to the Church, and some unconnected but interesting incidents in his own life; which will be briefly mentioned in order, from this period until the year 1812.

The general convention again assembled in 1792, in New York. And the prudence and influence of Dr White were employed with success, in preventing an apprehended embarrassment and interruption of harmony in the house of bishops. The causes of apprehension arose from the private situation of Bishops Provoost and Seabury, in relation to each other; from a dissatisfaction entertained by Bishops Provoost and Madison, with a rule adopted in 1789, to regulate the presidency of that house; and from a suspicion on the part of Bishop Seabury, that it was intended to exclude him from taking any part in the expected consecration of Dr Claggett, as bishop of Maryland. The last of these was formerly explained.* The first was removed by procuring, through the medium of Dr White, an interview between those two bishops,† which was readily acceded to by both; no personal offence appearing to have been given on either side, though their intercourse had been prevented by

* *Ante*, p. 121.

† Memoirs (1st ed.), pp. 199, 200.

Bishop Provoost's well known opinion against the validity of the Scotch succession. And nothing subsequently occurred to interrupt their harmony. With regard to the second cause of apprehension, it is to be remarked, that when the bishops first assembled as a separate house, in 1789, only two of them attended; Bishop Provoost having been detained at home by illness. Dr White, never ambitious of precedency, and being the younger bishop present, proposed as a permanent rule of order, which was accordingly adopted, that "the senior bishop present shall be the president; seniority to be reckoned from the dates of the letters of consecration." It was intended to prevent all discussion respecting precedency; and of course made Bishop Seabury president of the house.* When the bishops met, in 1792, it appeared that Bishops Provoost and Madison were dissatisfied with this rule. Dr White still retained his opinion, that it was the correct one, and could not consistently vote for its repeal; so that the house must be equally divided, and the old rule retained. But to avoid the appearance of taking an ungenerous advantage of the former meeting, at which Dr Seabury and himself alone had been present, he agreed that if the former thought proper to waive his right under the rule—of which he had intimated that he should not be tenacious—the better course would be that one of them should absent himself from the house that morning.

* Memoirs (1st ed.), p. 178; Journal (Bioren's), p. 87.

Accordingly Dr White did so; and the rule was altered, and the presidency directed to be held by the bishops in rotation, beginning at the north. Bishop Seabury having presided at the last convention, Bishop Provoost, of course, became now the president.* In 1804, however, the former rule was again established,† and Dr White became, and continued to be, the presiding bishop during the remainder of his life. He had, indeed, been before called to preside in every convention after that of 1792, either in rotation, or in consequence of the absence of the bishop who would, if present, have presided according to the rule. It may be proper to add here (though the remark applies principally to a period subsequent to that at which we have now arrived), that besides presiding in the house when assembled in convention, various powers and duties were conferred or imposed on the presiding bishop, during the interval between the sessions of the general convention. These were regulated from time to time by the canons; and in some instances were of considerable importance to the Church. They were exercised and performed with so much judgment, prudence and integrity, as to avoid the excitement of jealousy or dissatisfaction on account of his increased power and influence, or the manner in which they were exerted.

A course of study to be pursued by candidates for

* Journal (Bioren's), pp. 122, 123; Memoirs (1st ed.), p. 202.

† Journal, p. 223.

orders was established by the house of bishops at the convention of 1804. It had been prepared at the request of the house of deputies (in which the bishops concurred), communicated at the previous convention. It was drawn up by Bishop White, whose original draft is now before me; and it continues still to be the prescribed course of study. "This was doing something towards the improving of the literary reputation of our ministry, and an advance towards the desirable object of a seminary or seminaries, in which the preparation of candidates may be the better secured by daily examinations held by qualified professors."*

The remaining incidents occurring during the interval mentioned above, relate to his private life and conduct, and not to the affairs of the Church at large.

In the summer and fall of the year 1793, Philadelphia was visited by the yellow fever; a pestilential disorder of a virulent character, and causing great mortality. The alarm, and anxiety to avoid the risk of contagion, were the greater because the calamity was novel. A similar visitation had not been experienced, except perhaps one, remembered by a few of the old inhabitants, occurring at a period when the small population rendered its effects less striking. A large proportion of the citizens removed, for safety, from the city. But Bishop White determined to remain, for the purpose of performing religious offices, and rendering, according to the duties of his sacred

* Journal (Bioren's), pp. 199, 205, 221, 227, 230—234; Memoirs (1st ed.), p. 248.

station, spiritual aid and consolation to the sick and dying. Many of his friends (particularly the Rev. Dr Hutchins, in a letter which I remember to have heard spoken of as a beautiful specimen of friendly and respectful remonstrance) endeavoured to convince him—as no doubt they themselves sincerely believed—that it was his duty likewise to retire, and avoid exposing to such hazard, a life deemed so important to the Church at large. But the demands of duty appeared to the Bishop himself to be clear and imperative. He could not yield to the solicitations or arguments of his friends, and persisted in his determination to remain. His family accordingly was removed into the country, at a distance of a few miles, while he continued at his own house with a domestic or two. He could, and did occasionally ride out to see his family; but his intercourse with them, on those occasions, was constrained. It was not then known—as experience afterwards proved—that the pure atmosphere of the country prevented the danger of contracting the disease by communication with the infected. He therefore only saw and conversed with his family for a short time in the open air; approaching no nearer to them than was necessary with a distinct voice to carry on the conversation. I recollect once meeting him at the place where they resided, and finding their intercourse thus conducted; though not with so much caution as they said it had previously been; the disease having then greatly abated, as it was at the end of October. Under these trying and alarming circumstances, he constantly and faithfully

visited the sick, and performed every suitable religious office, unappalled by the danger, or by the painful and revolting scenes to which he was a witness. One of his domestics—his coachman, who had from choice remained with him—was seized with the fever, and died in his house. But through the whole season, he was himself providentially preserved from sickness. Thus, notwithstanding his high station and importance in the Church, and the plausible reasons which might be thought to justify his retirement from active official performances, exposing him to so great hazard, he manifested his conscientious and persevering devotion to duty; the firmness and constancy of his mind; and his self-denial, in relinquishing his own comfort and security in compliance with higher claims. In several succeeding years, in which the city was visited by a similar calamity, he continued equally ready to perform every parochial duty, without being deterred by the fear of danger to himself. But as it had been discovered that the country would be a safe retreat for his family, even though he should be attacked by the disease and be with them, he accompanied them into it, and rode daily to his house in the city, to be ready to comply with any call of religious duty. And at a much later period of his life, the same temper of mind and uprightness of conduct were exhibited. When the Asiatic cholera broke out in Philadelphia in the year 1832, he might be seen, in the eighty-fifth year of his age, praying and administering the consolations of religion in a cholera hospital, at the bedside of the dying.

In the year 1793, several important queries, relative to the situation of the churches, and of religion and morality in the United States, were communicated to Dr White by Francis Corbin, Esq., of Richmond, with a request that he would give such answers to them as he could procure. The queries had been transmitted to Mr Corbin, as he stated in another letter, by the Bishop of London, Dr Porteus; and as the answers contain much interesting information on the subject of inquiry, the correspondence is here inserted.

"Richmond, Virginia, November 14, 1793.

"Dear Sir:

"Inclosed, I take the liberty of sending you several queries, which have been transmitted to me by a very dignified clergyman in England, and to which I should be extremely obliged to you for such answers as your general knowledge of the United States will enable you to procure.

"They are intended, at present, only to gratify a speculative curiosity, but may possibly be productive, at a future day, of an excellent and useful treatise upon the subjects of religion and morality.

"To you, sir, who are employed, and happily for America, in the promotion of both, I trust, no apology is necessary for the request now made by,

"Dear Sir, with great respect and esteem,

"Your most obedient, and
most humble servant,
"FRANCIS CORBIN."

"QUERIES.

"1. In how many states of America is there still a provision for the clergy established by law? and in how many has that establishment been suppressed? Please to name those of each sort.

"2. In those states where the clergy are maintained by voluntary subscriptions, are those subscriptions well paid? and are they sufficient to maintain them and their families decently, and to preserve them from contempt?

"3. In the same states, are the churches better frequented, and the duties of morality and religion more punctually performed than they were before the suppression of the ecclesiastical establishment? or the contrary?

"4. In the same states, is there reason to suppose that the situation of the clergy, and the influence of morality and religion, will be improved as the states grow more wealthy, more learned and more populous?

"5. In which states do religion and morality flourish most? in those where there is a legal provision for the clergy, or in those where they are supported by voluntary contributions?

"6. Are the churches or meeting houses, and the parsonage houses (in towns and country) kept in good repair?"

"Philadelphia, February 7, 1794.

"Dear Sir:

"Your letter came to hand at the close of the late

malignant fever in this city; when, being the only clergyman of our communion of those remaining in town who had entirely escaped that calamity, I found myself so taken up with duties of various sorts, as to prevent an immediate attention to your inquiries. In consequence of unexpected calls since occurring, your letter has lain by me; not without an apprehension, on my part, that you think me deficient in this delay; but still, with the recollection that the impediments of the navigation would prevent your sending to your correspondent, during the winter, the satisfaction he has desired of you.

"Although the information which I am now to give will be very limited, yet I cannot refuse to furnish you with what little is within my power: and, so far as your requisitions call for opinion, you will consider it as given with diffidence.

"Question 1. In how many states, &c.

"Answer. I do not know of legal establishments in any of the states; unless we call those such which exist in Connecticut, and in Massachusetts with the exception of the town of Boston. In the different townships of each of these states, there are meeting houses, the properties of the inhabitants respectively. The worship in these meeting houses is all on the congregational plan; merely, if I am rightly informed, because the majority of the people are of that persuasion; and not from any preference given to the system by law. Every inhabitant of a township is liable to a tax, levied in some way like that of the parish

rates in England, and payable to the minister of the town meeting house; unless the party prove, that he has paid the sum so demanded, to a minister of any other persuasion, to which he may profess to belong. This establishment, so far as I can learn, is administered with great mildness; and every accommodation is made, that can be, without a relinquishment of the principle. A worthy clergyman of our Church in Massachusetts informed me, that a person who lived fifty miles from him, had constantly been relieved from his tax, on proof that it was paid to him who was the nearest episcopal clergyman to the party; but who very seldom had it in his power to come within his church. The magistracy of that country have had many disputes with the Baptists; but, I believe, it has been because the latter have refused, on the allegation of scruples of conscience, to comply with the demands made on them for proof that they paid to their own ministers, which, they said, was contrary to their religious freedom.

"All the eastern gentlemen with whom I have conversed on the subject, seem very much attached to this sole remnant* of religious establishment in the United States; and none more so than those who are free from what I take to be the religious prejudices of their ancestors; and they assure me that much of the submission to the laws, and the attachment to good

* This remnant no longer exists; the laws on the subject having been repealed in both the states mentioned.

government, for which the people of that country are at this time singularly exemplary, is owing to the legal provision stated.

"I have been the more particular in mentioning this establishment, as I conceive it to be the very species of legal support of religion suited to the circumstances of the United States. It appears to me, sir, a right inherent to legislative power, to make provision for the public teaching of religion, with a view to the morals of the people. And I think that every such establishment should be so far general, as to embrace the opinions of the great majority of the people, with toleration of all others. This right and this restriction I will illustrate by a similar right to endow seminaries of learning; although it would be an unwarrantable stretch of power to oblige those people who think human learning detrimental, to send their children to such seminaries for instruction. I know the objections, however, which exist against all public provision for religion; and arising from the opposite sources of infidelity and enthusiasm. But when I contemplate the good sense and the disposition to peace and order of the people of this country; and when I recollect how many have been brought, in civil matters, from the extremes of democracy, by experience of its bad effects, to a predilection for a mixed government, as now established in the separate states, and over the whole union, on the conviction of their being the most congenial to law and liberty, I am induced to believe that the day will come, though probably not in our time, when

there will be a general conviction of the necessity for the government, as such, to make a profession of the Christian religion; in order to secure its moral influence over the people.

"The remaining clauses of the question require me to mention, that the Episcopal Church was formerly established in all the states southward of Pennsylvania and Delaware; but ceased to be so in any of them with the revolution. Between Connecticut and Maryland, there was nothing that had the appearance of establishment, unless it were of the Episcopal Church in four counties of New York. And this was desired to be so by some, who contended that the people, according to the law to this point, made in the infancy of the province, were at liberty in each county to present to the government a minister of any other persuasion. The provision which the Church had from this source was small, and that attended with the disadvantage of keeping her in a continual broil with the Presbyterians.

"Question 2. In those states where the clergy, &c.

"Answer. Subscriptions are, almost universally, wretchedly paid; and the ministers dependent on them are so ill provided for, that a man's residence is seldom long in any place, where his support is raised in this way. There is, however, a middle plan between this and a legal support; I mean that of an assessment on the pews. Where a religious society are tolerably numerous, and they adopt this expedient for the paying of their minister, his situation is easy.

The misfortune is, especially in these middle states, the settlement of which was by people of different nations and persuasions, that we are too much divided for any society to effect much; although in the cities we do pretty well. In Maryland, and I understand in your state, the freeholds in the pews which existed and were very reasonable during the establishment have become a great evil since it ceased; but I am told that they are gradually getting over this difficulty, by the people submitting to assessment on the pews. Between my coming from England and the consecrations of Bishops Madison and Clagget, I ordained many gentlemen for these two states. I make inquiries concerning them as opportunities offer, and have reason to believe that their circumstances are improving; especially where the responsibility and the industry of the parties have been instrumental in bringing back a considerable proportion of those who, during the destitute condition of our churches in and after the war, joined the Methodists. In the middle and the eastern states there were no congregations before the revolution competent to the maintenance of their respective clergy, except those in Philadelphia, New York and Boston. You may easily suppose how severely the stopping of the salaries from the Society for Propagating the Gospel, though a necessary measure on their part, was felt in our country congregations and in those of the small towns. The prospects, however, are gradually improving: there was a time when not a single clergyman of our church was left in this

whole state beside myself. The effect of it on the neighbouring states was not very much short of this. How we stand at present, in numbers, you may learn from a list annexed to the journal of our last general convention; and I trust that every publication of that list in future will show us to be advancing.

"Question 3. In the same states, are the churches better frequented, &c.

"Answer. From the terms of this question I suppose it to relate to the states where the establishment once existed. I am not of one of them; but from information will venture to answer in the negative. Notwithstanding the misfortune under which our church laboured in the said states, of not being able to eject clergymen from their livings for immoralities; and notwithstanding many notorious instances of depravity which were the consequence, I presume that in general the state of religion and of morals in those counties is altered for the worse.

"Question 4. In the same states is there, &c.

"Answer. I am so sanguine as to believe that this question may be answered in the affirmative. There is a general spirit of inquiry in the people of this country in regard to civil happiness and the means of securing it. It must be confessed that too many of our leading characters had adopted the sentiment that religious principle is not a necessary spring of conduct towards this object. That opinion seems to be losing ground, and the faster for the late awful effects of it in France. It appears to me that

the happiness or misery of this country in time to come will very much depend on the degree of influence of the same sentiment on the public mind. This again will be much affected by two descriptions of persons; our leading political characters, and the clergy. The example of the former would give a tone to general manners; and the latter, if they have an enlightened zeal, may make a reverence at least of religion, a necessary sacrifice to the opinions and the habits of a people.

"Question 5. In which states do religion, &c.

"Answer. Of the former description are Massachusetts and Connecticut only. I believe that a comparative view of manners would be much in favour of these states; to which, however, there are sundry circumstances contributing, although I doubt not the one in question has its share. I should remark, that so far as our clergy are concerned, the establishment can affect but a small part of their salaries; which therefore depend chiefly on subscriptions or pews: this owing to our people being few. These are, however, much increasing.

"Question 6. Are the churches or meeting houses, &c.

"Answer. So far as I know, this is the case. In regard to churches and meeting houses they show much of the influence of that spirit of improvement which pervades this country. Of glebes or parsonage houses there are not many in Pennsylvania, though there are some. I know of no state in which

they have materially suffered. There was great danger of their falling a sacrifice in your state; but I hope that the unprincipled project is despaired of.* It may be proper to mention that besides this species of property there are others, some real and some personal, belonging to a few churches. It is the case of the two united churches of which I am the rector. And I expect that the readiness with which all our governments grant incorporative charters to religious bodies will be followed more and more by stable endowments.

"Thus, sir, I have answered your inquiries to the best of my judgment and information; but whether in such extent as to equal your expectations, or be of use to your correspondent, I do not know.

"If I can give you any further satisfaction on such points you will be pleased to command me: and in the mean time I am

"Your respectful and very humble servant,

"WILLIAM WHITE."

A very pleasing proof of the bishop's liberal and truly Christian temper was given in his intercourse with Dr Priestley during the period under examination. That gentleman arrived in Philadelphia from England about the year 1795; seeking a retirement in this country in consequence of well known diffi-

* But see Dr Hawks's History of the Church in Virginia for an account of the subsequent success of the project.

culties met with in his own. He finally settled in the town of Northumberland, on the river Susquehannah in Pennsylvania; but previously spent some time in the city, and afterwards occasionally visited it. A considerable intimacy took place between Bishop White, and this learned and amiable man—for such he must be allowed to have been, whatever objections may be justly made to his religious opinions; and he frequently attended public worship at Christ Church. Their intimacy appears to have produced mutual respect and cordiality of feeling. A few letters which passed between them from 1797 to 1802 are here inserted, as evidences of Christian temper honourable to both, and interesting in other respects. The doctor's respect for Bishop White's learning and judgment was manifested by the following incident. The doctor was of opinion that the dæmon of Socrates was inspiration. When his pamphlet, entitled "Socrates and Jesus compared," was printed and not yet published, he brought it to the Bishop; requesting him to peruse it and to note any sentiment which might be thought to discredit the publication; independently on any point concerning which he knew his theory to be disapproved of by Dr White; mentioning that there was a passage very much objected to by a friend of his. He called a few days after, and his pamphlet was returned to him, with an objection to a passage containing the sentiment above mentioned. He immediately said—That is the passage in question. He cancelled the leaf before the sale of the pamphlet, as

may be seen in the first edition of it. He did not appear to have relinquished the sentiment, but thought it was unnecessary, and might do a prejudice to his work. The letters between them were those which follow :

"January 18, 1797.

"Dr White presents his respectful compliments to Dr Priestley. Having mentioned to the doctor two instances in which, among many others, Mr Volney has inserted in notes matter insufficient for the support of his text; and having been desired by the doctor to make a memorandum of these two places, and to procure one of the books referred to, he has this day attended to his request.

"The first of the places referred to is the latter part of the forty-third note of Mr Volney corresponding with page 231 of his text. Dr Priestley, in examining the paragraph quoted from Eusebius, (which is in page 56, beginning at the ninth line from the bottom of the book herewith sent) will perceive that Mr Volney has mistranslated in stating as the sentiment of a *majority* of Egyptian philosophers what Eusebius from Porphyry mentions as the opinion of *Chæremon and others* : which error has an unhappy influence on a very material part of Mr Volney's book; where we find doctrines are laid down as the current stream of sentiment of a long succession of philosophers; which, after all, appear to be no more than the theory of a comparatively modern sect. If Eusebius has

made too strong a use of this passage of Porphyry against the Egyptians, Dr Priestley will find the application accounted for and contradicted in Cudworth's Intellectual System, b. 1, ch. 2, sec. 18, in which the ancient Egyptian philosophy is vindicated from the charge of atheism. In attending to the aforesaid note of Mr Volney, it will readily occur to Dr Priestley that the quotation from Plutarch, as found in Eusebius, is nothing to the passage; it being no proof that the idea of deity arose from a personifying of the operations of nature, but quite consistent with the fact that the existence of a divine author of all things being understood, his perfections were considered as represented by physical objects.

"The other place noted by Dr White is in vol. 8, note 48, corresponding with page 235, line 7, of his text. The unfairness of making an assertion so big with consequences, and of putting in a detached state a mere reference to what, even in his own partial judgment, are no more than probable reasons, is very evident. Will it be uncharitable to infer that Mr Volney has thus taken an indirect method of getting rid of a fact which oversets the whole tenor of his work? The fact alluded to is that of the discovery of the procession of the equinoxes, but about a century or two before the Christian era. Now supposing astronomy to have been cultivated by a succession of philosophers, not to say through the long tract of time alleged by Mr Volney, but for the space of 6480 years, the time in which the equinoxes would

have gone through a quadrant of the heavens, is it possible that they should have been inattentive to so remarkable a phenomenon as that of the consequent change of the position of the stars relatively to the sun? In the little compass of Dr White's reading he does not recollect any historical notices of astronomical facts which prevent this argument from being, to his mind, an unanswerable objection to Mr Volney's whole scheme.

"As Dr Priestley may not be possessed of the English translation of Mr Volney's book, Dr White has borrowed it for his use, and it accompanies this note.

"Northumberland, June 6, 1800.

"Dear Sir:

"I take the liberty to beg your acceptance of a work which I have just printed here in support of our common principles; and therefore I hope it will not be unpleasing to you, though in a passage or two it may appear that our sentiments are not exactly the same. Men who think will differ, but Christians will ever be candid.

"With the greatest respect,

"I am, dear sir,

"Yours sincerely,

"J. PRIESTLEY."

"Northumberland, July 7, 1801.

"Dear Sir:

"I hope you have received a copy of a pamphlet

which I lately took the liberty to send you through the hands of Mr Dobson, on the subject of the knowledge of a future state among the ancient Hebrews, and also a new interpretation of the eighteenth of Isaiah. Please to show it to Dr Andrews, to whom I sent *Collard. Logis* by Mr Carey in Market street.

"I shall always recollect with much pleasure the satisfaction I received from your society in my late visit to Philadelphia, and from your discourses from the pulpit. It adds, however, to my regret that the devotional services of your church are not such as all Christians can join in. There might, I should think, be the less objection to such an alteration in your liturgy as would be compatible with this great object, as nine in ten of your prayers are already on that plan. But, all circumstances considered, this is far too great an advance in liberality to be expected in these times. Notwithstanding our difference of opinion, believe me to be, with the greatest respect,

"Dear sir,

"Yours sincerely,

"J. PRIESTLEY."

"July 21, 1801.

"Reverend and Dear Sir:

"About a week ago I received your letter of the 7th instant. The obliging present of your pamphlet had not then reached me; but the next morning, on coming in from my house in the country, I found it lying on my table. Whilst I thank you for your

kind expressions towards the church to which I belong, and towards myself, I beg leave to mention in regard to the former, that although satisfied that the leading points of doctrine which she holds are agreeable to Scripture, and although sorry for the difference of sentiment which takes place in reference to them in the minds of sincere seekers after the truth, I contemplate the latter circumstance as an occasion of Christian charity.

"I embrace the opportunity of giving my opinion, however small the tribute to your literary reputation, that your book is calculated to do good; especially among those who have been influenced to the opposite sentiment by Bishops Warburton and Law. In regard to the former it has always appeared to me, and you speak to the same effect, that he has not sufficiently adverted to the circumstance of the Mosaic laws being a code of temporal government, which, like other codes of that sort, required temporal sanctions, the only ones which the civil magistrate can enforce. In regard to the book of Job I will hazard the expressing of a sentiment which has rested on my mind. It is, that the introducing of the doctrine of a future state in the form of argument, if put into the mouths of the friends, would have been inconsistent with the point which they were maintaining; viz., that affliction was an evidence of the demerit of the sufferer; and if put into the mouth of Job, would have rather weakened than promoted the effect intended by the author of the book; which was to humble man in

his own eyes; to show him that he could make no claim on his Creator, and to induce him to receive the divine benefits as the fruits of the mere grace of the bestower. Whatever evidence there may be of a future state, it had no place in an argument designed to reconcile to the loss of the good things of the world on quite other grounds; yet this hindered not but that there might be reference incidentally to another life; which accordingly there is, as appears from the passages you have quoted.

"I fear that the eighteenth chapter of Isaiah must remain among the things hard to be understood; although I acknowledge the ingenuity of your interpretation. Mr King's notion that France was intended seems to me sufficiently overset, if, indeed, for so fanciful an hypothesis any oversetting was necessary, by Bishop Horsley's remark on the imperfect knowledge of geography at the time. The bishop's theory held out a stumbling block to me in the beginning, in the necessity he was under of making the word which was so often just before a denunciation, change in this place into a mere call on the attention. There is one difficulty which your scheme seems to have in common with theirs; viz., there not being in the prophecy discriminating marks of a nation known at the time to the prophet and his hearers; like the other nations on whom woes are pronounced. I am not going to set up an interpretation of my own, but merely submit to your consideration, whether as the word 'translated beyond' admits of the translation 'passing by'

or 'bordering on,' the expression 'the land passing by, or bordering on the rivers of Cush,' may not be a paraphrastic way of denoting Ethiopia. If this be admissible, the leading sentiment of the passage will be a denunciation of divine judgment against that country, with an intimation that however fruitlessly Ethiopia as well as Egypt would be looked to for help against the Assyrians, the heavenly king of Judah had still his eye on his habitation, and would deliver his people in his own time and way. But I recollect Bishop Horsley's caution on the subject of criticism, which I think has much reason in it; and therefore I beg you to consider this not as an attempt at criticism but as conjecture.

"You will, I am persuaded, excuse the freedom when I tell you that however satisfied with the application of your texts to the fact of a belief of a future state among the Hebrews, yet had I been at your elbow I should have been tempted to hint some other texts; although knowing that they would have been rejected, as proving, in your opinion, either nothing or too much. To name a few: there is Jacob's 'going down to the grave to his son mourning;' although this is said under no probability that the son was buried. There is also David's declaration concerning his child—'I shall go to him but he shall not return to me.' That noble passage too in Isaiah in which deceased sovereigns are represented receiving among them the king of Babylon, seems to me to imply the existence of a state of the dead. The passage is figu-

rative; but to make a figure proper it seems necessary that the thing affirmed, although not true, might be supposed true without absurdity.

"You will consider me, sir, not as saying the above in the way of disputation, but as disclosing the state of my mind during the reading of your valuable pamphlet; and with the same view I go on to mention, that on reading your History of the Corruptions of Christianity about fifteen years ago, and finding in that work a quotation from Josephus, adduced to prove that the opinion of the soul's separate existence was a mere conceit of the Greeks, I recurred to the book, where it appeared to me that the author spoke so lightly, not of the opinion itself, but of certain circumstances with which the Greeks had connected it. I was persuaded of this by the consideration not merely of the passage itself, but also of other passages of the same work. Having put papers at the pages at the time, I have now, on reading your present pamphlet, opened the book and found those papers as I left them. Accordingly I take the liberty of noting the passages for your consideration; remarking that the first of them is quoted in your pamphlet, but differently from what I read in my edition; which is L'Estrange's; the oldest English translation, and an indifferent one; but not, so far as I have heard, unfaithful; although I am not however prepared to pronounce on its being more correct than the one from which you transcribe. Perhaps you take from the original, which is not in my possession, although I expect I can have access to it.

"The said passage, after stating the hope of Hebrew martyrs, adds; 'In this confidence they look on death itself as only the blessed means of transferring them from this life to a better.' The same author, in his discourse on the Maccabees, speaking of the magnanimous behaviour of the mother of the seven children, says, she considered them as 'continuing to live with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and all the godly patriarchs in the mansions of immortal felicity.' And in his Antiquities, b. 18, ch. 2, stating the opinion of the Pharisees, he expressly represents them as 'believing in the immortality of the soul.' I observe that, in your pamphlet, you speak of Josephus and Philo as deriving this doctrine from their intercourse with the Greeks. But in the passage quoted, so far as Josephus's testimony goes on matter of fact, and certainly it goes a great way, it appears to establish the doctrine to be that of the Jews generally, in our Saviour's time. And indeed I think that a Grecian origin would have been more likely to have prejudiced him against it.

"When a man has taken one freedom, it commonly emboldens him to another. And I crave indulgence to this infirmity, while I mention to you, that on the appearance in print of the excellent lectures previously delivered by you in this city, I could not suppress the thought that the strong mind of Dr Priestley had given evidence of a bias to a preconceived opinion, when it cited a certain passage from Justin Martyr, relative to the present point: although, in saying this,

I am aware that perhaps all I am saying may be an evidence of a similar bias in myself. The passage alluded to (being in the only lecture that treats of any matters controverted among Christians), after speaking of the Millenarians, who are said to be *puræ et piæ sententiæ*, although maintaining a dogma not universally received, passes a censure on the Gnostics; whom the author denies to be Christians at all. Now this censure appears to me to rest on their denial of the resurrection, and on the 'going to heaven immediately,' only as put in opposition to the resurrection. But it may be said, Why is the latter mentioned, if not an error? I answer that I know no scriptural ground of the expression 'going to heaven immediately.' Neither is it necessarily connected with the doctrine of a separate state, which implies something short of the consummation of bliss.

"In regard to the opinion which I entertain on the present subject; you will not disdain the charity of the sentiment, although you will smile at the ground of it, when I inform you, that during your late sickness in this city, in which I sincerely sympathized, it was matter of concern to me that you could not contemplate a state of bliss otherwise than as to begin after a succession of ages. You will answer me as you have answered others in your writings, that the interval will be void of consciousness. I reply that the same might be said of annihilation. I do not doubt the influence on your mind, of the expectation of future happiness under what appears so unwelcome a circum-

stance to mine; but I cannot think that on mankind in general the expectation would be so operative to virtuous dispositions and habits, as that of an inheritance to be enjoyed immediately on dissolution.

"And now, sir, I am aware of the ground which I have given for the thought of the hardship that you could not exercise the civility of sending me your pamphlet, without being burthened with so long a letter in return; and that on a subject which must have appeared in every point of view to you before. In respect to this I plead guilty, and throw myself on your charity and good nature, and subscribe myself, with my best wishes of every sort,

"Respectfully,

"Your affectionate, humble servant,

"WILLIAM WHITE."

"Northumberland, November 17, 1801.

"Dear Sir:

"It is by no means my design to draw you into a controversy, or even a correspondence; but the politeness and candour of your letter excite my gratitude, and require some acknowledgement, which I have now an opportunity of making without putting you to the expense of postage. And you will excuse me if, at the same time, I make a few remarks on the principal subject of your letter. The other subjects you touch upon deserve my attention, and shall have it.

"With respect to the state of my mind, in my last illness, to which you kindly advert, I would observe,

that our feelings are much influenced by our opinions; and I feel far more satisfaction in the idea of shutting my eyes on this world and opening them at the resurrection, than in that of passing into a state of which the Scriptures give us no account at all, but which must be somewhere under ground, where we cannot look for much convenience or comfort, and where we must be entirely cut off from the living world. As to the existence of such a state, the silence of our Saviour concerning it, in the interview with Martha and Mary, and of the apostle Paul, when he was writing to comfort his new converts on the death of their friends, weighs more with me, than any argument from the supposed literal meaning of any particular passages of Scripture.

"As to the figurative representation of the state of the dead in Isaiah, and also that of our Saviour in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, if there must be something of *reality* for their foundation, we must suppose in this *hades* the righteous and the wicked are within the sight and hearing of one another; and as a foundation for the parable of Jotham, the trees must have the faculty of speech. If in these cases something that is not fact must be supposed, why not that of an anticipated resurrection, as an emblem of what will take place at a distant time?

"To you, I am aware, that these objections, as they cannot be *new* to you, will have little weight; but the time is soon coming to both of us, when we shall know more of this subject, and also of many others, than we

do at present. To me it cannot be very distant. I have not yet perfectly recovered what I lost in my fever at Philadelphia, and now hardly expect ever to do it. But our lives are always at the disposal of the Great Being who gave them; and I have great reason to be thankful that mine has been prolonged to the usual term of nature, and that, though not without salutary checks, it has been a happy one.

"With every good wish, and the pleasing hope of our meeting in a state of greater light and knowledge,

"I am, dear sir, yours sincerely,

"J. PRIESTLEY."

"Philadelphia, January 19, 1802.

"Reverend and Dear Sir:

"I received your polite and friendly note of the 17th of November.

"It was my design to have sent you, long ago, the minutes and the sermon accompanying this letter;* but by some accident, a package containing them was very long delayed in New York.

"I am too well aware of their contrariety to your opinions, to send them in any other way than that of acquainting you [with] what is going on in a small portion of the ecclesiastical world. There seems a particular propriety in sending the journal, as it is necessary to complete the lot of which I asked your acceptance.

* Journal of the General Convention of 1801; and the Sermon delivered before it at the Consecration of Bishop Moore.

"It lately gave me pain to hear Dr Priestley mentioned as an evidence of the impropriety of copious bleeding; it being understood in the statement made, that great subsequent weakness has been the consequence. If this has been so, I will still hope for a gradual restoration, and am, in the mean time,

"Yours, &c.

"W. W."

"Northumberland, April 5, 1802.

"Dear Sir:

"Your excellent sermon gave me more pleasure than you would probably imagine, as I sincerely concur with you in the opinion, that truth is never to be sacrificed to candour, which can only consist in thinking as well as we can of the tendency of particular opinions, or to Christian charity, which teaches to wish well to all persons, whatever we may think of their opinions. I agree with you also, in thinking that individual persons are not intended by antichrist, in the Scripture prophecies, but only *powers* which, though doomed to destruction, may be exercised by very good men, as many of the popes, I doubt not, were.

"You seem to intimate that there may be unbelievers among your ministers. Two such I knew in England, who, taking it for granted that, as I was commonly represented, I was one too, made no scruple of acknowledging themselves such to me. And there are probably many more in that country, as there are

in Catholic countries, where the emoluments of the profession are considerable; but I am unwilling to think there can be any such here.

"I beg your acceptance of a small pamphlet which I have just printed here; and I think there is not more than a paragraph or two that can offend you in it. As my age and infirmities admonish me that what I do I must *do quickly*, I have begun to print my *Church History*, and, if I live to finish it, I shall proceed to my *Notes on the Books of Scripture.*

"With great esteem I am, dear sir,

"Yours sincerely,

"J. PRIESTLEY."

In the beginning of the year 1797, the Bishop met with a severe affliction in the loss of his son William, who died in the thirteenth year of his age. Another of his children, a daughter, Ann, had some years before been taken from him at an early age. His loss, in the present instance, was the more deeply felt, as this son was a great favourite, and gave promise, so far as his youth would allow a judgment to be formed, of being like, in character, to his father. The year closed with the more trying bereavement occasioned by the death of his wife, whose health had been infirm for a considerable time. In a sermon preached on the last Sunday in the year, he affectingly availed himself of these incidents, and of the consequent decreasing comforts of their pastor's life, to impress on the minds of his flock the duty of being taught so to number their days,

that they might apply their hearts unto wisdom, even the wisdom which would make their calling and election sure.

Soon after the death of General Washington, in December 1799, Dr White was called on, as one of the chaplains, to perform the religious offices, on the occasion of the funeral honours paid by congress to the memory of that father of his country. The service used by him will be found in the Appendix to this Memoir.*

To the religious and benevolent character of that eminent man, the Bishop has, on various occasions, given the just testimony which his intimacy and frequent pastoral connection with him, and also instances in which he became the almoner of his bounty, enabled him to state with certainty. Doubts have been sometimes expressed on the subject of the General's religious principles; but, it would seem, without sufficient reason. His uncommon reserve in expressing his opinions, unless when circumstances particularly demanded such an expression, and which extended to other subjects besides religion—joined with the dignity of his deportment, checking an easy familiarity, and preventing inquiry concerning opinions which he did not appear inclined to communicate—have been probably the chief causes of the doubts But his aid given for the support of the Church, in his own parish —the correct sentiments on religion contained in seve-

* Appendix, No. V.

ral of his public addresses—the unimpeached sincerity of his character, manifested through life, and forbidding a suspicion that those sentiments were not really entertained—and his attendance on the public services of the house of God, furnish satisfactory proof of his respect for religion, and of his belief in Christianity, unless opposing evidence, unknown to the Bishop, may appear. Yet though the General attended the churches in which Dr White officiated, whenever he was in Philadelphia during the revolutionary war, and afterwards, while president of the United States, he never was a communicant in them. This fact does not disprove his belief in, and respect for Christianity. For it is well known that some, whose religious sincerity could not reasonably be doubted, have been led to avoid a participation in that sacred ordinance, from sincere, though overstrained and mistaken reverence for it. Inquiries on this subject were often addressed to Bishop White; and copies of several letters, written in answer, remain among his papers: from which some to the Rev. B. C. C. Parker, containing the most detailed statement of his knowledge on it which I have seen or know, and also some other interesting facts relative to other persons and subjects, have been selected, and are here inserted.* One to Colonel

* The Bishop's sentiments on the religious character of General Washington, are also expressed in the dedication of a sermon on Deut. xxxiii., 27, preached and published in February 1795; and in another on Gal. vi., 10, preached in December 1799, a few days after intelligence of the General's death was received in Philadelphia. And to them may be

Hugh Mercer is added, together with an extract from one from that gentleman, to which it is a reply.

"Philadelphia, November 28, 1832.

"Dear Sir:

"I have received your letter of the 20th instant, and will furnish you with what information I possess on the subject of it.

"The father of our country, whenever in this city, as well during the revolutionary war as in his Presidency, attended divine service in Christ Church of this city; except during one winter; when, being here for the taking of measures with Congress towards the opening of the next campaign, he rented a house near to St Peter's Church, then in parochial union with Christ Church. During that season, he attended regularly at St Peter's. His behaviour was always serious and attentive; but as your letter seems to intend an inquiry on the point of kneeling during the service, I owe it to truth to declare, that I never saw him in the said attitude. During his Presidency, our vestry provided him with a pew, ten yards in front of the reading desk. It was habitually occupied by himself, by Mrs Washington, who was regularly a communicant, and by his secretaries.

"Although I was often in company of this great man, and had the honour of dining often at his table,

added an address of the general convention of our Church to President Washington, soon after his first election to that high station, in the Journal (Bioren's), p. 100.

I never heard any thing from him that could manifest his opinions on the subject of religion. I knew no man who seemed so carefully to guard against the discoursing of himself or of his acts, or of any thing pertaining to him: and it has occasionally occurred to me, when in his company, that if a stranger to his person were present, he would never have known, from any thing said by the President, that he was conscious of having distinguished himself in the eyes of the world. His ordinary behaviour, although unexceptionably courteous, was not such as to encourage obtrusion on what might be in his mind.

Within a few days of the leaving of the Presidential chair, our vestry waited on him with an address prepared and delivered by me. In his answer, he was pleased to express himself gratified by what he had heard from our pulpit; but there was nothing that committed him relatively to religious theory. Within a day or two of the above, there was another address, by many ministers of different persuasions; being prepared by Dr Green, and delivered by me. It has been the subject of opposite statements, owing to a passage in the posthumous works of Mr Jefferson. He says, giving Dr Rush for his author, who is said to have had it from Dr Green, that the said address was intended to elicit the opinion of the President on the subject of the Christian religion. Dr Green has denied this, in his periodical called 'The Christian Advocate,' and his statement is correct. Dr Rush may have misunderstood Dr Green, or the former may have

been misunderstood by Mr Jefferson; or the whole may have originated with some individual of the assembled ministers, who mistook his own conceptions for the sense of the body. The said two documents are in the Philadelphia newspapers of the time.

"On a thanksgiving day appointed by the President for the suppression of the western insurrection, I preached a sermon in his presence. The subject was the Connection between Religion and Civil Happiness. It was misrepresented in one of our newspapers. This induced the publishing of the sermon, with a dedication to the President, pointedly pleading his proclamation in favour of the connection affirmed. It did not appear that he disallowed the use made of his name. Although, in my estimation, the entire separation between Christianity and government would be a relinquishment of religion in the abstract; yet, that this was the sense of the President, is more than I can infer.

"There do not occur to me any other particulars, meeting your inquiry, and confined to my knowledge. Accordingly, I conclude with writing myself,

"Very respectfully,

"Your humble servant,

"WM WHITE."

"ANECDOTE CONCERNING PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

"On the day before his leaving of the Presidential chair a large company dined with him. Among them

were the foreign ministers and their ladies, Mr and Mrs Adams, Mr Jefferson, with other conspicuous persons of both sexes. During the dinner much hilarity prevailed; but on the removal of the cloth it was put an end to by the President: certainly without design. Having filled his glass, he addressed the company, with a smile on his countenance, as nearly as can be recollected in the following terms: 'Ladies and gentlemen, this is the last time I shall drink your health as a public man. I do it with sincerity, and wishing you all possible happiness.' There was an end of all pleasantry. He who gives this relation accidentally directed his eye to the lady of the British minister, (Mrs Liston) and tears were running down her cheeks.

"Dear Sir:

"It was but a few days ago that I addressed to you a letter in answer to your inquiries concerning the religious character of President Washington. There has since occurred to me, although foreign to that purpose, what is written on the first page of the present communication. I never think of the incident without feeling a lively interest in it; and have often recited it in company, to the evident satisfaction of the hearers. Whether it will be worthy of the notice of Mr Sparks in his intended work I leave to him and you to consider, as also the form in which it shall be presented, if at all.

"I pledge my word for the truth of the anecdote, and am,

"Very respectfully,

"Your humble servant,

"WM WHITE."

"Philadelphia, December 21, 1832.

"Reverend and Dear Sir:

"Your letter of the 11th instant is come to hand. Until the receipt of it I did not know that there was in holy orders a son of my much esteemed brother, Bishop Parker. I saw you at the convention, but supposed you to be a lay deputy.

"I do not believe that any degree of recollection will bring to my mind any fact which would prove General Washington to have been a believer in the Christian revelation; further than as may be hoped from his constant attendance on Christian worship, in connection with the natural reserve of his character.

"Being engaged in a correspondence relative to this great man, I will venture to call the attention of Mr Sparks to an incident in his military services which I have not yet seen noticed in a manner sufficiently honourable to him.

"It is well known that in the year 1777 there was in Congress a party disposed to give the command of the army east of the North river to General Charles Lee; a project which could not have succeeded after the shameful capture of the latter. With the favourers of the scheme I had very little acquaintance; but I con-

versed much with some gentlemen who, although incapable of participating in it, and personal friends of General Washington, lamented his laying of so much stress on the opinions of General Greene. After the defeat of General Gates, and the annihilation of our military force in the Carolinas, Congress spent much time in endeavouring the choice of a general for the renewal of hostilities in that quarter. Not being able to agree, they sent an order to General Washington to select a suitable officer, and he sent General Greene. The brilliant result is well known. It seems to me that this, in the teeth of so much prejudice, is very indicative of the character of the commander-in-chief; perhaps as much so as any transaction of his life.

"The mention of General Greene suggests to me the following narrative. On reading Marshall's Life of Washington my curiosity was excited by a note at page 557 of vol. 4. It appears that when the general was in the last extremity, from the want of money, to prevent the abandonment of the army; there came to his relief a gentleman who, for the furnishing of the necessary sum, was content with a draft on the financier. Not long after, in conversation with my brother-in-law, the said officer, I asked him the name of the gentleman. The answer was—'His name was Hall. You must have often met him at my house. I wanted a confidential agent, but wished him not to be a man in any public office. This was the case with Mr Hall; of whom I had always heard the South Carolina gentlemen speak, as a man of great integrity and ho-

nour. Accordingly, I commissioned him on this delicate business.'

"Mr Morris followed up the conversation by relating as follows. He said that after the conclusion of the war, and on General Greene's coming to this city for a settlement of his accounts, during the first official conference, the secret transaction came into view. The general, with a smile on his face, but with his hand on his sword, as if half in jest and half in earnest, gave a look which Mr Morris construed as saying—Why did you not trust me with the secret? No further notice was then taken of the matter, except by a request that the general would think seriously of it before his making up his opinion. The next morning on his appearance at the office Mr Morris said to him—'General, you were yesterday somewhat hurt by a discovery then made. Have you seriously considered it?' The answer was—'I have; and believe that you never did a wiser thing. I was often in embarrassment, not bordering on ruin, but sufficient to have warranted my drawing had I known that I might.'

"I do not know how far Mr Sparks, in his work, may be required to give it a bearing on the character of Mr Robert Morris. But with a view to the possibility of this, I select the following fact; the memory of which I think worthy of being preserved, independently of its being evidence of the credit of that gentleman, and because of its effect on our public affairs, at perhaps the most important crisis of them. In the

latter end of the year 1776, Congress, removed to Baltimore, received a letter from General Washington, then in Jersey, as were also the enemy, stating that he must have a certain specified sum, in hard money; and that otherwise, he could not procure intelligence, while the enemy could command it. This subject rested heavily on the mind of Mr Morris, to whom the letter had been sent, and until the approach of night, when, having closed his office, and being on his way home, he met a gentleman of the Society of Friends, with whom he had long been in habits of commercial business. The following dialogue ensued. The gentleman began it with—'Robert, what news?' The answer was—'The news is, that I am in the want of such a sum of hard money;' naming the amount in the letter; 'and you are the man who must furnish it; and your security must be my note, and my honour.' The gentleman, after a pause of about a minute, said, 'Robert, thou shalt have it;' and was as good as his word.

"Whether any thing I have written will be to the purpose of Mr Sparks, I consider as uncertain, and am,

"Respectfully,

"Your affectionate brother,

"WM WHITE."

EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF COLONEL MERCER.

"Fredericksburg, August 13, 1835.

"I have a desire, my dear sir, to know whether General Washington was a *regular communicant* in the Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, or whether he *oc-*

casionally went to the communion only, *if he ever did at all.* The whole country knows that he was a religious man, and served his God with humility and reverence. No authority can be more complete and authentic than yours, on this point, as he was, I believe, a regular attendant on your ministry in Christ Church. I wish the information merely for my own *private satisfaction*, and for no *public use whatever*, and shall feel highly gratified and honoured by a reply from you at your leisure and convenience."

"Philadelphia, August 15, 1835.

"Dear Sir:

* * * * * * *

"In regard to the subject of your inquiry, truth requires me to say, that General Washington never received the communion, in the churches of which I am parochial minister. Mrs Washington was an habitual communicant.

"Before the General left his seat in Congress to take the command of the army; afterwards, during the war, whenever he was in this city; and since, during his Presidency, he attended in Christ Chnrch, except that in one winter during the war, having rented a house near my other church (St Peter's), he attended there. He was an antipode to those who are in the habit of changing the places of their attendance. When he left the presidency, it was here thought, that of his many answers to addresses, the most courteous was that to the vestry of Christ Church and St Peter's.

"I have been written to by several on the point of your inquiry; and have been obliged to answer them as I now do you.

"I am, respectfully,

"Your humble servant,

"WM WHITE."

The following notes from General Washington, afford a pleasing evidence of the benevolence of his feelings, of the purity of his motives in bestowing charity, and of prudence in the mode of applying his bounty.

"Philadelphia, December 31, 1793.

"Dear Sir:

"It has been my intention ever since my return to the city, to contribute my mite towards the relief of the *most* needy inhabitants of it. The pressure of public business hitherto has suspended, but not altered my resolution. I am at a loss, however, for whose benefit to apply the little I can give, and in whose hands to place it; whether for the use of fatherless children and widows, made so by the late calamity, who may find it difficult, whilst provisions, wood and other necessaries are so dear, to support themselves; or to other and better purposes, if any, I know not; and therefore have taken the liberty of asking your advice.

"I persuade myself justice will be done to my motive for giving you this trouble. To obtain information, and to render the little I can afford, without os-

tentation or mention of my name, are the sole objects of these inquiries. With great and sincere esteem and regard, I am, dear sir, &c.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON.*

"To William White, Bishop of Pennsylvania."

"Philadelphia, January 1, 1794.

"Dear Sir:

"I have been favoured with two notes from you of this date; the last in time to prevent the mistake which the first would have led me into.

"The mode which you have suggested for imparting the small pittance my resources will enable me to contribute towards the comfort of the needy in this city, appears to be a very eligible one; and as you have been so obliging as to offer to place it in proper hands for this purpose, I take the liberty of enclosing two hundred and fifty dollars.

"I have no desire that my name should be mentioned. If so small a sum can effect any good purpose, my object will be answered, and all my wishes, respecting it, gratified.

"I offer you the compliments of the season—the happy return of many of them—and the sincere respect and regard of,

"Dear sir,

"Your affectionate, humble servant,

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

"The Right Reverend Dr White."

* Sparks's Writings of Washington, vol. 10, p. 389

"Thursday Morning, January 2.

"The President presents his respectful regards to Dr White. The benefit to be derived, and not the merit of bestowing it, is the only motive which has governed, in the case which has been the subject of this correspondence; of course, to know from whence it flowed, ought not to be an object of inquiry, and as to conjectures, they are very immaterial. However, as Dr White has a delicacy on the subject, the President did not intend, nor would by any means wound it; he therefore leaves it to him (knowing the motives) to accompany the contribution with such explanations as he shall think fit."

The congregations under the Bishop's parochial charge became so much enlarged, that it was thought expedient, about the year 1806, to erect a new church for their accommodation. The work was accordingly undertaken; and the building was consecrated on the 1st of May 1809, by the name of St James's Church: which was placed in parochial union under him, as the rector, with the united churches of Christ Church and St Peter's. This was the first new Episcopal church erected in the city or liberties subsequent to the revolution: but he had the satisfaction, before his decease, of beholding eight other churches established within those bounds; and, with one exception, that of St Matthew's, Francisville, flourishing. On commencing the building of St James's, he delivered an address to the vestry, on the most advisable manner of

conducting such undertaking. The sentiments expressed are thought so prudent and judicious, as to merit preservation and attention; and the address is therefore inserted in the Appendix.*

The Church, in the mean time, advanced very slowly, in other parts of the diocese. But early in the year 1812, the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania was formed. The Bishop was made, *ex officio*, its president; and it received the approbation and sanction of the state convention, which sat in May 1812, a few weeks after the formation of the society. It did not originate from the suggestion of the Bishop himself, but from that of some of his presbyters. But he cordially approved and aided in its organization and subsequent proceedings. He felt no jealousy, and showed no backwardness in supporting and promoting plans for extending and improving the Church, because they were formed by others, without his previous suggestion. In either case, he embarked with equal readiness and zeal in the execution of them. The society, by employing and supporting missionaries in different parts of the diocese, has been, and continues, of signal benefit in enlarging the Church in Pennsylvania. Many churches, now flourishing, owe their existence to its care.

The number of clergy also had increased, and continued to do so. All the old parishes were supplied. Many new ones were organized, and churches erected.

* Appendix No. VI.

The Church in Pennsylvania was improved and extended more rapidly. Its progress continued, without any material check, to such an extent, that at the time of the convention next before the decease of the Bishop —that of 1836—the number of the clergy belonging to the diocese was eighty-six, and the number of congregations ninety-one. The number of clergy in the whole Church in the United States, reported to the general convention of 1835, was seven hundred and sixty-one.

Bishop White's attention was not confined to his own diocese. He employed means for extending the benefits of the Church to the western states and territories of our union. The first measures taken for the establishment of the Church in Ohio, were commenced by him and a few clerical associates in Philadelphia. From conviction of the duty of extending some aid to the members of the Episcopal communion beyond the limits of the state, they instituted for that purpose, in 1816, a society under the name of "The Episcopal Missionary Society of Philadelphia." A clergyman was sent to take a journey into various parts of Ohio (who visited also parts of Kentucky and Tennessee), to preach, and to examine the state of it in reference to religion, and the prospect of introducing there the institutions of the Episcopal Church. There was, at that time, not one Episcopal clergyman in the state. The Bishop felt a deep interest in this plan. At several times afterwards, clergymen were sent into Ohio, and supported by the society. They were usefully em-

ployed in organizing congregations. These efforts were continued until the establishment of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society by the general convention; to whose care the matter was then transferred, and the operations of the former society ceased. The success which has attended the endeavours thus commenced, is well known. The Church in Ohio was in a few years organized as a diocese, with a resident bishop; and it is now prosperous, and constantly improving. The same society, during its existence, extended its beneficence towards the supply of catechists, in aid of the clergyman who had undertaken the pastoral charge of the Episcopalian portion of the colonists on the western coast of Africa. The zeal of its members also moved them to digest a scheme of a missionary society, to extend over the American union. This design was submitted to, and approved by the state convention of 1820, as a step towards submitting it to the general convention to be soon afterwards assembled: by which the General Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society was first instituted.*

Even at an earlier period in the history of the Church, his attention and exertions were directed to the advancement of the Church in the western parts of the United States. The measures for this purpose were to be taken by him in conjunction with the Bishop of Virginia, Dr Madison, in pursuance of reso-

* Journal of Pennsylvania of 1817, p. 8; 1818, pp. 8, 9; 1820, pp. 11, 12, 21; 1821, p. 10; Journal of the General Convention of 1817, p. 26.

lutions of the general convention. Very early after the complete organization of the Church, that body was desirous of providing for the west the benefits of episcopal superintendence: and several plans for the purpose were adopted at different periods. But so great difficulties occurred, that neither of them could be carried into execution. Those difficulties arose from the death of Bishop Madison; from the difficulty of procuring a suitable person for the station; and from the impracticability of providing means for his support. The design was, however, still kept in view, with a determination of effecting it whenever an opportunity could be obtained. It was at last accomplished in a different mode from either of those previously proposed, when a bishop was consecrated for the diocese of Ohio; which rendered any further proceedings on the other plans unnecessary.

The first associations in the Church for religious objects, formed with the authority or approbation of the Church, were, as we have seen, diocesan. But the Church at large, throughout the United States, was now rapidly improving; and becoming more able, in consequence of the increase of her clergy, and the power of obtaining more ample means from the wealth and liberality of her laity, to form and execute enlarged plans of usefulness. From these circumstances resulted the establishment of two very important institutions, by the authority of the general convention: the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, and the General Theological Seminary.

It is not consistent with the design of this memoir to enter into any details of the history and benefits of these valuable institutions. Neither of them derived its origin from the proposal of Bishop White in the first instance, except so far as the former was planned, as already mentioned, by the Episcopal Missionary Society of Philadelphia. But he took an active and zealous part in the measures and consultations for establishing and organizing both. As the missionary society, first instituted in 1820, was located in Philadelphia, and he was *ex officio* president of it, he rendered a faithful and unwearied attention to the proceedings, not only of the society at large, but of the committee charged with the active management of its affairs; and he continued in the same course until after the general convention of 1835, at which the constitution of the society was altered: the church herself being declared and constituted the society, and the management of its affairs entrusted to a committee for domestic missions and a committee for foreign missions; both of which were soon located in New York.

The first motion in convention for the institution of a theological seminary was made by the deputies from South Carolina in the general convention of 1814: though it appears that Bishop Hobart had previously formed the plan of an institution for the instruction of candidates for orders, to be established at Springfield in New Jersey. The motion was then negatived by the house of deputies, and the subject was no farther

acted on by that convention, than by directing inquiries to be made in the several dioceses respecting the opinions of the clergy and lay members of the church on the propriety and practicability of the plan. But at the succeeding convention in 1817 it was resolved to establish a general seminary, to be located in New York; and a committee, of which Bishop White was chairman, was appointed to carry it into execution; and its operations were commenced not long afterwards.

On the question of the expediency of establishing a general seminary, the bishop differed from the majority of his brethren. He preferred another plan—that of instituting diocesan seminaries in as many of the dioceses as were desirous of having them, and were competent to provide for their support. His reasons for this preference have been stated by him at large in his Memoirs of the Church (2d edit. p. 237, 242). Notwithstanding that preference, however, when it was resolved by the convention to establish a general institution, he gave it his cordial aid and support; under the impression that it ought to have a full and fair trial. He was a party in all the measures for establishing and organizing it. When, in consequence of difficulties met with, as might be expected in the early periods of so extensive an institution, great doubts were entertained of its success, and the expediency of diocesan seminaries became again a subject of discussion during the convention of 1820, he did not persevere in pressing his own opinions on

the subject, though they do not seem to have been changed. In a letter to Bishop Hobart, dated the 17th of February 1821, he remarks—"You seem to think that if my preference of diocesan schools, and objections to the other, had been urged at the last convention, they would have had weight. What reason have I to suppose this? My sentiments were delivered at the convention of 1817, backed by the sanction of our state convention. They were again presented in my Memoirs, which had been read by many of the convention of last May. It has always been my practice not to be repeatedly obtruding my peculiar views of a subject on any body of men, when their decided sense has been declared against me—the matter not involving sacrifice of principle." He afterwards, from the period at which the seminary was permanently located at New York in 1821, constantly attended every stated meeting of the board of trustees, which assembled in that city; was present at every annual examination and commencement; and on five occasions delivered, at the request of the faculty, the address to the students. This constant and active interest in its concerns was continued until the year 1830. At the commencement in July of that year he informed the faculty that on account of his advanced age (being then in his eighty-third year) it would be inconvenient for him to take so long a journey to attend the examinations and other proceedings in New York relative to the seminary.

At the period of his last attendance the seminary

had attained a secure and prosperous condition; and had communicated their theological education to a considerable portion of the clergy in the several dioceses, who were generally acknowledged to be among the most active and useful of the ministers of the church. He remarked this prosperity, and rejoiced in it. His whole course, indeed, in relation to the institution farther proves and illustrates a trait of his character before mentioned—that without the least jealousy or indifference he contributed his best aid to the successful prosecution of any measures for promoting the welfare of the church, though they originated with others, or were different from those which he had himself preferred and advocated. His principles and motives on this subject may be given, as stated in his own language, by a few extracts from his addresses to the trustees, faculty and students of the seminary. In that delivered in 1822 (which was the first), after mentioning the invitation to him to be present on the occasion, he proceeds: "I was the more easily induced to make a journey for the purpose, on account of its being known to many, that while we wavered between the comparative merits of two different plans, I was in favour of that which preferred to a general school the countenancing of local schools in whatever dioceses it might be thought expedient to found them. My principal reason was the apprehension entertained that by multiplying the subjects of discussion to be brought before our general conventions, extraneous to the tie binding us together in the absolutely necessary

provisions of our ecclesiastical system, the danger of future collisions of views and of opinions would be proportionally increased. The contrary scheme having obtained the stamp of the general sanction of the church, the opposing suggestion should have no other effect than to induce the greater caution against the spirit of disunion, and to dispose us the more to look up to God for the continuance of that tendency to conciliation, which, under the influence of his grace, has hitherto blessed our counsels.

"Of so happy an issue the prospect is the brighter in consequence of the unforeseen alterations of the constitution of the seminary, by the convention which assembled in the last autumn; and especially by its being provided that the weight of influence of every section of the union shall be proportioned to the number of clergymen therein, and to the extent of its contributions to the fund. For as the general seminary was established, and continues, with the allowance of locally constituted schools, it appeared to me that there would be essential injury to the former from indifference in some departments, and from rivalship, or perhaps hostility, in others; for even the latter ought to be supposed the possible result of the infirmity of human nature, acted on by local jealousies, if not by a lurking desire of making inroads on our ecclesiastical institutions."

"Another feature of the ameliorated constitution, tending to reconcile to the preference obtained by it is the opening left for future branches of the institu-

tion. For although, in the opinion of the present speaker, it is inexpedient to extend this provision further than in the instance sanctioned* by the conditions of the late compact, yet there will occur many cases in which, on account of expense and severance from family, it will be a reasonable accommodation to young men to have opportunities near to their respective homes; and, perhaps, the best expedient to this effect would be individual professorships in different places, with a view to the completing of education in the general seminary. When there shall be means competent to what is suggested, a beneficial effect will be the lessening of inducements to theological instruction under clergymen designated by private partiality, who may not always be equal to the trust. That the proposed enlargement of the plan on the principles provided by the constitution will tend to the preventing and the removing of local jealousies must be obvious."

In his fifth address, delivered in 1829, he remarks, at its commencement: "On this eighth anniversary of your being assembled your president has the honour of taking his seat among you the eighth time; having on every preceding occasion anticipated that in future his non-attendance would be held excusable on account of his advanced age. That he has still yielded to solicitations to be again present at your deliberations, is perhaps partly owing to the circumstance

* Alluding to a branch school established, for some years, at Geneva, in New York.

that at the period of the organization of the institution, having thought with the few who favoured the encouragement of the establishment of as many seminaries as there may be dioceses competent to the founding and the supporting of them, and having yielded to the then almost universal opinion in favour of a general seminary, with the pledge of his zealous endeavours towards the promoting of its success, he has thought it the more incumbent on him to avoid whatever may be considered as a lessening of the interest taken by him in the concerns of the institution."

When General La Fayette visited the United States in 1824, Bishop White was found by him to be one of the few survivors of those with whom he had formed an acquaintance during the war of the revolution. The recollection of their intercourse at that period, and the bishop's connection with many public bodies who testified their respect for the general by calls and addresses, brought them very frequently together; which gave the most full opportunities of observing the general's feelings and deportment. In a letter to his friend Bishop Hobart, then in Europe, Dr White gives the following statement on the subject, very honourable to La Fayette. The letter is dated the 14th of October 1824. "There will doubtless appear in the English papers the accounts of the reception of General La Fayette. On no occasion whatever have I witnessed an enthusiasm so universally extended. My relations to many religious, literary and charitable institutions, and, added to them, a

degree of acquaintance with him nearly half a century ago, have thrown me in the way of seeing much of him during his late visit to our city; and I must do him the justice to testify that he sustained the honours showered on him with singular moderation and modesty."

After La Fayette's death an eulogium was publicly delivered in Philadelphia by Peter S. Duponceau, Esquire, and was preceded by religious services performed by Bishop White.* On the succeeding day the following notes passed between the bishop and Mr Duponceau, relating a fact deemed by both honourable to the general's character.

"July 22, 1834.

"Dear Sir:

"At our parting yesterday, I referred to an incident respecting General La Fayette, which seemed not to have come to your knowledge, or to have escaped your recollection.

"There is at this moment, under my eye, the Journal of Congress of Monday, March 24, 1783, in which it is recorded that there was laid before them a letter of February 3d, from the Marquis De La Fayette, announcing a general peace, and a copy of orders given by the Count D'Estaing, vice-admiral of France, to the Chevalier Du Quesne, commander of the corvette 'Triumph,' despatched from Cadiz the 6th of February last, for the purpose of putting a stop to all hostilities at sea. The journal goes on to record a

* They are in the Appendix, No. VII.

resolve of Congress directing the agent of marine, to recall all armed vessels cruising under commissions from the United States. It was well known at the time, that the above despatch was of the procuring of the marquis.

"The incident has always appeared to me evidence, not only of his Americanism, but of his humanity. For who can tell how many lives, and how much property were saved by so timely a measure?

"At the time of General La Fayette's last visit to this country, when there were so many praises of him in our papers, I wondered that nothing was said of the meritorious act now presented. Accordingly, I drew up something to the purpose, and caused it to be printed in one of the papers—I think Mr Poulson's.

"Perhaps the information now given is needless; but it has arisen out of the circumstance stated in the beginning.

"I am, respectfully,

"Your humble servant,

"WM WHITE."

"Philadelphia, July 22, 1834.

"Right Reverend and Dear Sir:

"I am exceedingly obliged to you for the letter with which you have honoured me this morning. It has brought fresh to my recollection facts which were well known to me at the time, since I was then employed in the department of foreign affairs. I well remember, now, the news coming to the department

at the time you mention, that is, in the latter part of March, though peace was not proclaimed until the 11th of April, on the receipt of an official letter from Dr Franklin, conveying the same intelligence. How the fact did not occur to my memory, in preparing the hasty eulogium of La Fayette which I delivered yesterday, I can only account for by my desire of making as short a narrative as possible, and condensing my matter to the utmost. I acknowledge, with you, that the circumstance should have been mentioned; you have presented it in a point of view that had never struck me; and yet which is very important; for nothing can be more certain than that many valuable lives were saved by the timely information received from General La Fayette. It is not astonishing that this fact should have remained strongly impressed upon your mind, constantly employed upon religion and its cognate subjects, philanthropy and humanity.

"That you may live long to diffuse those sentiments among mankind, and to improve us by your precepts and your example, is the constant wish of him who has the honour to be,

"With the truest respect and veneration,

"Right reverend and dear sir,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

"PETER S. DU PONCEAU."

Notwithstanding the Bishop's advanced age, being in his seventy-seventh year, he undertook a long jour-

ney, in October 1824, to visit the parishes in the western parts of his diocese, and others in the intermediate counties. He expected to consecrate four churches west of the Alleghany mountains, and one at Lewistown on the Juniata; and to hold confirmations in them and others. He reached Lewistown, and consecrated the church there; but on the next day, at the distance of a mile from that place, his progress was prevented by a dangerous accident. The horse taking fright ran; the gentleman driving was thrown out, and lost the reins: the Bishop, who remained in the gig, recovered them by the aid of the whip, and nearly checked the horse; but the animal was again frightened, and could not be restrained. Within a short distance, the Bishop was thrown out; which caused a simple fracture of his right wrist, and several lacerations of his face. Owing to valuable medical assistance, gratuitously rendered to him; to the sympathy and good offices of many estimable inhabitants of Lewistown; to the important attentions of his fellow traveller, the Rev. Mr Kemper, and to the care of two of the members of his own family, who hastened to him, he was enabled, through the good providence of God, to reach home on the fifteenth day from the fall. He was detained for only four Sundays afterwards from the pulpit. The ease and speed with which he recovered, were unexpected by his attending physicians, who thought they manifested an uncommon vigour of constitution, at so advanced an age. On the 30th of May following, he again set out on a journey

to the western counties, with the same views; and extended it, at the request of Bishop Moore, as far as Wheeling, in Virginia; punctually fulfilling all his engagements. He returned in health and safety, after a journey of about eight hundred and thirty miles, on the 10th of July. In the autumn of the next year (1826), he took another long journey on official duties, into the Beech Woods, in the north eastern counties of the state; the distance travelled being about four hundred miles.* After an assistant bishop was consecrated, in 1827, the care of the remoter churches was entrusted to him; Dr White confining his episcopal duties to the city of Philadelphia and its neighbourhood.

Until a very late period of his life, Bishop White met with no painful incidents in the government of his diocese. So great and universal was the respect felt for his character, and the persuasion of his sincere and disinterested regard for the welfare of the Church, and so warm was the affection entertained for himself personally, both by the clergy and laity, that no desire to oppose his wishes, and no dissatisfaction with his conduct towards them, had been manifested, nor probably felt. But at the late period now alluded to, difficulties occurred in the diocese, which caused much dissension, and continued to disturb its peace for several years. From them the Bishop experienced more uneasiness than from any other incidents of his

* Journal of Pennsylvania for 1825, 1826 and 1827, in his Annual Addresses.

life. And so he declared, on looking back upon them some time afterwards, when they had been in a considerable measure removed. On a visit of sympathy and condolence which he paid to a lady with whose family, as well as with herself, he had long maintained a friendly intercourse, this fact was feelingly expressed by him. In the course of conversation, the lady inquired his exact age. He answered with much animation: "I now claim to be an octogenarian, as I entered my eightieth year last April." "You are no doubt ready," continued the lady, "to say with the patriarch, few and evil have been the days of your pilgrimage." "I am not prepared to say any such thing," was his prompt reply; "for although I have suffered bereavements" (and he named his wife and children, from whom he had been separated by death), "this is the common lot: and if one day was marked by affliction, another was filled with blessings. My severest trials have been, of late years:" and in his usual mild manner he alluded to the difficulties in the diocese.

The Bishop has left among his manuscripts a full account of the origin and causes of these difficulties, accompanied by all the documents relating to them. But with characteristic forbearance, and prudent regard for the harmony of the church, he has left with it the following direction: "In the case of my decease it is my wish that no use may be made of the within, unless needful for the repelling of any attack on my reputation, or to meet any tendency to the disorgani-

zing of the church, originating in the transactions recorded." At the time when he first commenced the preparation of the account which he has left, his thought was, to use his own language, "that considering my advanced years, I have little prospect of witnessing the end of the evil." Providence, however, ordered otherwise. He had the satisfaction, before his death, of seeing the harmony of the church in his diocese restored. The troubles took place principally in the years 1826 and 1827; and I find, annexed to the account referred to, the following remarks, dated the 25th of May 1830. "During our diocesan convention in May of the last year evidence appeared of the decrease of tendency to disorder, which had been manifested in some preceding sessions. In that recently closed there have been stronger marks of the same decline. For this I lift my heart in gratitude to God, and with prayer for the increase of it." And in a letter to Bishop Hobart, dated the 12th of June 1829, he remarks: "If the issue of the late convention was a subject of joy to you, it must be presumed to be much more so to me. Having enjoyed the harmony of the diocese through so long a course of years, it was matter of some lamentation to me that I should at last leave it in a distracted state; which I thought would assuredly be the issue of certain late contests. When the convention met, what I had principally at heart, although I was by no means assured of success, was the carrying of certain changes in the constitution. What added to the danger of

defeat was, that one of the changes* would deprive some of the clergy of their seats in the convention. Great was my surprise when, in the giving in of the result, it appeared that we had the overwhelming majority of about two-thirds of the clergy, and of about two in three of the laity."

To enter at large into a detail of these transactions, and thereby endanger the revival of feelings which have been so happily calmed, would be as much opposed to the inclination of the present writer as to the wishes of the Bishop above expressed. But since they became connected with, and had a great influence upon, an event of much importance to the diocese—the election of an assistant bishop, a brief account of them is needful; confining the statement, however, to the leading facts publicly known. There were two subjects to which they had a relation:

* By the fourth section of the state constitution, as altered at that convention, "The bishop and assistant bishop, if there be one, shall have a seat and vote in convention. Every clergyman of the church, of whatever order, being a settled minister of some parish within this state, or being a president, professor, tutor or instructor in some college, academy or seminary of learning, incorporated by law, or being a missionary under the direction of the ecclesiastical authority of this diocese, or a chaplain of the navy or army of the United States, shall be entitled to a seat and vote in the convention, if he has been actually and personally, as well as canonically, resident within this state for the space of twelve calendar months next before the meeting of the convention, and has for the same period been employed in performing the duties of his station;" with certain provisos relative to temporary absence, and advanced age or sickness. Previously "all the clergy" of the diocese were entitled to seats.

First, that two associations were formed, in 1824, by some of the clergy of the diocese, for ecclesiastical purposes, without any connection with the bishop; one of them being designed to provide for and conduct the preparatory education of candidates for orders, who were afterwards to be sent, for their theological instruction, to a seminary in another diocese, then regarded as a rival institution to the general theological seminary established by and under the control of the general convention; the other for the employment of missionaries in the diocese: both of which were disapproved by the bishop and the other clergy. Second, personal disrespect to the bishop, and injurious charges against him.

The first public manifestation of feeling leading to much dissension, which need be now mentioned, occurred after the diocesan convention of 1825. The The forty-fifth canon of 1808, for the purpose of obtaining a full and accurate view of the state of the church, required that every minister "shall present or forward, at every annual convention, to the bishop of the diocese, or, where there is no bishop, to the president of the convention, a statement of the number of baptisms, marriages and funerals, and of the number of communicants in his parish or church, and of all other matters that may throw light on the state of the same; and these parochial reports shall be read and entered on the journals of the convention." By a resolution passed by the above mentioned convention, on the last day of the session, it was directed "that

the parochial reports handed in at the present convention shall be placed in the hands of the bishop of the diocese, to be acted upon by him in the same manner, previously to their publication, as if they had been regularly transmitted to him before the meeting of the convention, according to the forty-fifth canon."* This was the course thought by them most agreeable to the terms of the canon, and it had been pursued in several other dioceses. The bishop deemed it his duty to strike out parts of some of the reports, which appeared not to be within the design of the canon, before he could take the responsibility of returning them to the secretary of the convention for publication. His reasons for so doing are thus stated by himself:

"The late diocesan convention have devolved on me the delicate task of an examination of the parochial statements; on the principle that they ought to have gone through my hands, agreeably to the forty-fifth canon. This has thrown on me a responsibility, under which I cannot consent to be the organ of any matter not coming within the intendment of the canon; and much less of any thing contrary to sound doctrine or to the order of the church. The statements have been returned to the secretary with alterations, of which the reason shall be given.

"Before my entry on the duty I endeavoured to inform myself, from the diocesan journals, of the prac-

* Journal Penn., 1825, p. 40.

tice in other dioceses; when I found that in New York, in New Jersey and in Maryland, the bishops are the reporters. In the two Carolinas and in Ohio the reports stand on the authority of the parochial ministers, but are confined to facts. In Connecticut, without mention from whom the report comes, they are given in collateral columns; and are confined to the naked facts of the number of communicants, baptisms, marriages, funerals and families. Of Virginia and the eastern diocese I have not any journals, since those committed by me to the conventional collection of the union.

"As some of the members of the late convention were of opinion that every parochial minister should be privileged to put into his statement whatever, in his judgment, may throw light on the state of religion in his parish, I take occasion to set down the following objections to that opinion:

"First. It is contrary to the design of the forty-fifth canon; which requires its passing through the hands of the bishop; who may be required, not only to have an agency in what may be contrary to his conscience in matters of opinion, but to give his sanction to what he knows to be untrue. This would would have happened had he been of the party to a statement which may be seen on the journal of the convention of 1822, pp. 22, 23. The object of the person who presented the statement was to induce the persuasion that the success of the measures for the building of a church in Southwark was the conse-

quence of a blessing poured out on his ministerial labours. There would not have been a failure of the design had his name never been heard within the district.

"Second. If there should be any minister among us who, from the impulse of vanity, may wish to magnify himself, a conventional journal will be an engine convenient to his purpose; which will be much to the discredit of the church.

"Third. A consequence may be that some ministers, from zeal for the propagating of opinions, or for the sanctioning of practices not known in the institutions of our church, will press the journals into their service; which will pervert them to the propagating of error.

"Fourth. A consequence of this will probably be, that other ministers will be induced to balance the errors by statements of opposite truths; and thus the journals may become an arena of religious controversy. Are there not provocations to it, sufficiently numerous, without this?

"Fifth. The object of the reports is the furnishing of the general convention with a view of the state of the church in the several dioceses. If the journal of any diocese should contain matter foreign to the object, it will at least be a lessening of respectability. If there should be material error on its pages, there is no knowing to what extent of animadversion and controversy it may lead.

"Sixth. It is here supposed, concerning the inser-

tions objected to, that they will be defended, not on the ground of the forty-fifth canon, but on an addition to the intendment of it in a resolve of the state convention, entered on the twenty-eighth page of the journal of 1822.* If, under the cover of this, there should be introduced any matter rendering the inforformation not merely more particular, but of a complexion which cannot be supposed to have been contemplated by the general convention, it would be improper to defend such matter by the authority of that body. By this the bishop should be governed; regarding the resolution so far as it exacted greater minuteness under the proper heads; but disregarding any doings of a tendency conceived by him to have been not contemplated by the principal instrument; which is certainly of higher authority than a resolve of the diocesan convention." He then proceeds to state the reasons for the particular alterations (which consisted solely of *omissions*); but it is unnecessary here to introduce them.

Dissatisfaction with the course taken by the bishop was expressed by some of the clergy engaged in the associations mentioned in a preceding page; and a piece, written by one of them, appeared in a weekly religious periodical in the city of Philadelphia, denying the power of the bishop to make any alterations

* "*Resolved*, In order to give effect to the forty-fifth canon of the general convention, that, in presenting their parochial reports, the clergy are hereby recommended to bring forward whatever facts may exhibit the state of religion in their respective parishes."

in the reports of the parochial clergy; and apparently charging him with "lording it over God's heritage." Those words were indeed introduced in the way of general remark, without an explicit application of them to him; but the connection led clearly, it was thought, to such an application; which was farther confirmed by some facts communicated to him. After some months the writer of the piece publicly disclaimed the intention of treating the bishop with disrespect; but his language in relation to the charge insinuated in the words above mentioned was thought ambiguous at least, and therefore unsatisfactory. The same course, however, was pursued by the Bishop with the parochial reports at subsequent conventions, without any opposition. And, on a revision of the canons by the general convention in 1832, the power was defined, by canon fifty-one, in more explicit terms; and agreed with that which he had exercised.

The dissensions, commencing from the foregoing circumstances, were increased, and with much greater excitement of feeling, in consequence of the adoption of measures for the election of an assistant bishop. Though Dr White took the first formal step in the execution of this design, he was not led to it by his own desire of being relieved from any duties, by being provided with an assistant; but by a belief that many of the clergy, both of those who agreed with him in the principles of his ecclesiastical government, and of those who dissented from him, thought that the welfare of the diocese required the election of an assistant

bishop; as Dr White, from his advanced age—from the territorial extent of his diocese—from the increase of the episcopal duties in consequence of the enlarged number of the clergy and congregations—and from being incumbered with a parochial charge, was not able to perform all the services which the improved state of the diocese demanded. Having laid the subject before his council of advice, and received their approbation and recommendation of the measure, he called a special convention for the purpose, to meet in October 1826. His views and motives having been fully stated by himself, in two addresses delivered at that convention, one at the commencement and the other at the close of its session, they are inserted in the Appendix.* He took no active part, and used no influence, in the selection of a presbyter for nomination: though he afterwards voted for the one selected by his friends.†

To the causes of dissension previously existing, were added, when the convention assembled, a difference of opinion relative to the presbyter so selected, and an apprehension, in some members, that an election might be made, favourable to the support of the same principles of government which were approved by the present bishop. The clergy opposed to them proposed therefore for nomination a presbyter of another diocese.‡ And when the votes of the clerical

* Appendix, No. VIII. † The Author of this Memoir.

‡ The Rev. Dr Meade, now assistant bishop of Virginia.

order were taken, it was found that a majority of them was not given in favour of either of the individuals proposed. No nomination, therefore, could be made by them for the assent and approbation of the laity. Further proceedings on the subject were postponed until the next annual convention, which was to meet at Harrisburg in May 1827.

In the interval between the special and stated conventions, the excitement continued. The measures taken in reference to the expected election will not be here detailed, for the reasons already stated. At the convention in May, the Bishop's friends had a majority of one in the order of clergy, and a small majority of the congregations. Under such circumstances, it was not in the power of the clergy to nominate to the laity a presbyter belonging to the diocese; as the loss of his vote—since he could not with propriety consent to give it in his own favour—would prevent a majority on either side. The Rev. Dr Meade had, in the interval between the two conventions, declared his unwillingness to be again proposed: and the name of the other presbyter was understood to be likewise withdrawn. The election resulted in the choice of the Rev. Henry U. Onderdonk, a presbyter of the diocese of New York, by a majority of one of the clergy, and two or three of the congregations. Mr Onderdonk had no previous knowledge of the intention to propose him: the design of so doing being indeed not suggested, until after the convention had assembled. But having considered the subject for some time, and being in-

formed and satisfied that the peace of the diocese required his acceptance of the office, he was persuaded to give his consent. His consecration, after some ineffectual opposition, took place in October 1827; and he became assistant to Bishop White. He has now succeeded him as diocesan; acting in both stations with much prudence, conciliation and ability. In the course of a few years, the general harmony of the diocese was happily restored.

Soon after the late Bishop Hobart was settled as an assistant minister in Trinity parish, New York, a correspondence commenced between Bishop White and him, which became more frequent, familiar and free, after they were associated in the government of the Episcopal Church in the United States in consequence of the election of the latter in 1811 to be assistant bishop of New York, and continued until his decease in 1830. This is the only extensive correspondence of the subject of this Memoir which I have obtained, or know to exist; except the various letters relative to the measures for the first organization of the Church; the purport of which has been sufficiently stated by himself in his Memoirs of the Church. Letters, or extracts from letters from him to Bishop Hobart, which are thought suited to the design of this Memoir—of which there are not many—are inserted in the Appendix.* The greater part of the correspondence relates to particular cases which arose, and

* Appendix, No. IX.

on which he was consulted; and contains opinions on the interpretation of the constitution and canons applicable to some of those cases. The letters or extracts selected are of a different kind; adapted to illustrate, in some measure, the character and principles of the subject of this Memoir, or containing his thoughts on some points of general interest.

Between these two very eminent men, the greatest confidence, respect and affection existed, founded on an intimate knowledge of each other for a long period. Both were possessed of great abilities and information, and of equal attachment to the Church. But in the character of their dispositions and minds there was a great diversity, and even, in some particulars, a contrast. And it is believed that greater benefits hence resulted to the Church from their union and mutual assistance in her councils. They were well qualified to give effectual aid to each other, in forming and executing designs for promoting her peace and prosperity, and securing her purity in doctrine, discipline and worship: and the ardour, energy, promptness and decision of the one were tempered and guided by the great experience, cool judgment, caution, calm prudence and firmness of the other. On several very interesting subjects of theology and church government, they differed in opinion; Dr White having formed his theological views, after full examination, and on clear conviction, upon the model of those of the low church divines—as they were called in England—of the established church in that country; while

Dr Hobart was inclined to the opposite system. They freely, and often earnestly, maintained their opposing sentiments, with little effect on each other's persuasion, and without, in the smallest degree, diminishing their mutual esteem and friendship.

The parish of which Dr White had been so long rector, consisted, as we have seen, of three congregations, united under one charter of incorporation. The union had originally been the result of certain circumstances in the condition of the Episcopal churches here, which were thought to render it necessary for avoiding the danger of dissensions, which would otherwise very probably arise. The two churches, Christ Church and St Peter's, of which the parish was composed previous to the completion of St James's in 1809, were built a considerable time before the revolution. Christ Church, the oldest, having been found insufficient for the accommodation of the increased congregation belonging to it, a new one became necessary; and it was built about the year 1759, by their common contributions. The question whether the new church should form a distinct parish, or should be united in one with the old church, appears to have been considered by the vestry. The existing rector of Christ Church, Dr Jenney, advocated their union; apprehending that if independent rectors were appointed rivalship would be excited, and inconveniences and dissensions might occur, for which there would be no adequate remedy. The church was destitute of the advantage of episcopal superinten-

dence, and consequently without any acknowledged superior authority, by which the controversies between the contending parties could be decided or composed. These dangers he thought might be avoided by placing both under the same rector, with an assistant minister. His sentiments were communicated in a letter to the vestry. They seem to have been satisfactory, and his plan was adopted.* The parish was, many years after, farther enlarged, as we have seen, on the erection of St James's Church. But now the former dangers, to avoid which the union was recommended and adopted, were removed, as the church enjoyed the full benefit of the episcopal authority; while serious evils of another kind had been long experienced, especially in the great obstructions to the efficient performance of parochial duties in so extensive a parish, whose members lived in very dispersed situations, and whose rector and assistant ministers had an equal and undivided connection with all of them. These inconveniences led to a proposal for the separation of the three churches into distinct parishes; which was accordingly effected at different periods: St James's being first separated from the other two, and afterwards St Peter's from Christ Church. But the respect and affection of all the congregations for the Bishop were too strong to allow of the dissolution of his connection with either of them as their rector. He was continued, therefore, in that relation to the

* Episcopal Magazine for October 1820, pp. 305, 306.

three separate parishes, with an assistant appropriated to each, and designed to succeed him therein as rector after his decease.

He was now at a very advanced period of life. The marks of age and bodily infirmity became very visible; yet he was still able to attend to various active duties, and continued regularly to preach in one or other of his churches once on every Lord's day.* But there was no apparent decay of his intellect. His sound judgment, and powers of reflection and reasoning, continued unimpaired. The pastoral letter of the house of bishops, at the general convention of 1835, was prepared by him (as all the preceding letters had been), and also publicly read to both houses at the close of the session. He still frequently wrote pieces for insertion in the periodical publications; and on two very interesting occasions—one of which was thought by him to have a most serious and unhappy influence on the religious welfare of the public at large, and the other had engaged the deep and lively feelings of the great body of the church over which he presided—he prepared an address and a letter of instructions, which gave ample proofs of the truth of the fact just stated, and also of his unwearied and unintermitted attention to whatever was demanded by the duties of his station. For this reason, as well

* The last occasion was on Sunday, June 26, 1836, at St Peter's, when he preached the sermon, "Of the Gospel Sword," from Hebrews, ch. 4, v. 12 (No. LXXIV. in the sermons arranged for publication); written, however, many years before.

as for the importance of their contents, they are here introduced.

The first of them was occasioned by the will of Mr Girard, a wealthy merchant of Philadelphia, who directed a very considerable part of his immense property, devised to the corporation of the city, to be appropriated by them to the establishment of a college for the maintenance and education of a large number of orphan boys. This charity was in itself highly laudable; but it was incumbered by a provision contained in the will prohibiting the admission of any clergyman of any denomination within the walls of the college; and also, as was thought, excluding, at least by strong implication, all religious instruction, by explicitly providing for only a moral education. The evil tendency of such an institution, communicating only literary and scientific knowledge, and thereby enlarging abilities which, most probably, would be applied to mischievous purposes, unless accompanied and regulated by religious principles instilled into the minds of the pupils—these being the only effectual security for the direction of the former to their proper uses—forcibly struck the Bishop's mind; and he felt himself called on by his station to use his influence to counteract the evil. He therefore prepared, and published in the public papers, an address to the select and common councils of the city, with a view to persuade them not to accept the trust. The passage of the will and the address are as follows:

Clause of the will: "I enjoin and require that no ecclesiastic, missionary or minister, of any sect whatsoever, shall ever hold or exercise any station or duty whatever in the said college; nor shall any such person ever be admitted for any purpose, or as a visitor, within the premises appropriated to the purposes of the said college. In making this restriction, I do not mean to cast any reflection upon any sect or person whatsoever; but as there is such a multitude of sects, and such a diversity of opinion amongst them, I desire to keep the tender minds of the orphans, who are to derive advantage from this bequest, free from the excitement which clashing doctrines and sectarian controversy are so apt to produce. My desire is that all the instructors and teachers in the college shall take pains to instil into the minds of the scholars the purest principles of morality, so that, on their entrance into active life, they may, from inclination and habit, evince benevolence towards their fellow creatures, and a love of truth, sobriety and industry, adopting at the same time such religious tenets as their matured reason may enable them to prefer."

The address: "An opinion respectfully offered to the members of the city council, on the question of their acceptance of the legacy of Stephen Girard, Esquire, for the founding and supporting of a literary institution for the education of orphans.

"It has been a subject of controversy, whether, in the administering of the civil concerns of a commu-

nity, there should be the introduction of the sanctions of religion, or they should not rather be left to the religious principle in the minds of men. The latter part of this alternative has been held by some, not from hostility to religion, but because of the abuses of it, which have been to the worst of worldly purposes.

"The notions of men of this sort have been considered as visionary, and have never been consistently acted on; and it has been thought necessary in the construction of every civil community, to apply the religious principle to the accomplishing of its righteous views. In Pennsylvania, in particular, the first legislative act of its founder was to affirm the being of a God, and the divine authority of the Christian religion. Accordingly these have been held as part of the law of the land, and have been recognized as such by our courts of justice.

"In general, when the cause of atheism has been maintained, it has not been in an endeavour to prove that there is no God. The atheist is not bound to this. The positive side of the argument is thrown on the theist. If his adversary can show, either that the proofs are insufficient, or can prove of the whole subject that it has not, of necessity, a moral influence on the concerns of men, his cause is triumphant.

"Under the latter part of this alternative atheism obtrudes itself in disguise. Moral conduct, says the insidious betrayer, rests on the immutable foundation of reason, and on its subserviency to our present satis-

factions: why not then commit it to its correspondent motive of the desire of happiness, and of preference of the means which the best promote it?

"Perhaps as dangerous an argument as ever was published in favour of this theory is that which may be seen under the name of 'A Moral Dialogue,' in the last volume of the Works of the King of Prussia. There is not in it a word in denial of the being of God, or of a future state, or of the like motives of human conduct. The production is here spoken of under the recollection of what was read in it many years ago. The writer of this cannot be mistaken when he states, that in the various shapes in which it puts forth its reasonings, it consistently adheres to the theory of the sufficiency of the natural desire of man to obtain his highest happiness, and of his knowledge of the most direct means to it. The most difficult part of the operation of the author was the reconciling of his scheme to what are the results of the consciousness of the mind in its retirement from human view. The censure and the scorn of the world are held up as restraints from whatever is base. But an objector is made to propose the inquiry, as to what is to be done on the prospect of unjust gain to be acquired without the knowledge of the world. The moralist decides that the advantage should be waved, lest the secret should start forth to view in one of the many ways not to be foreseen or guarded against. The objector, returning to his point, puts the case as possible, which none can deny, of a certainty that the

crime will be for ever hid from the knowledge of men. May I then commit it? No, replies the moralist; because you would be made unhappy by the consciousness, that if it were known there would be the retribution of public censure. Such is a scheme of morals, presented as competent to the regulating of the conduct of man, acted on as he is by his frailties and by his passions.

"The said dialogue has been brought into view as an ingenious specimen of the subtlety with which there may be urged the project of excluding religion from the government of human conduct. The reputed author was the philosopher, D'Alembert, of the same school with Voltaire. It is not here known that the dialogue ever met the eye of Mr Girard: but it is thought that he could not have more exactly pursued its theory than has been done in the constitution of his seminary. The will goes to the extent of the abandonment of religion, as prescribing the rules of human conduct. If a collection of youth may have their attention exclusively directed to other motives, no reason can be given why they may not be surrendered to the same through life. If the instructors are forbidden to call the attention of their pupils to the author of all the wonders which open on their senses; and to a state succeeding that which, as they must soon discover, will be ended by the grave; and certainly silence on these and on the like subjects is exacted by the terms of the bequest; and if the pre-

scribed rule of life be sufficient until the age of fourteen or fifteen, or even of eighteen, long before which there will be felt the struggles between inclination and the sense of duty; the sufficiency of the same rule for the remainder of life is an obvious consequence.

"The error of Mr Girard's restrictions is evident in the principle on which it is founded—the diversity of sentiment on subjects of religion. Let the principle be tested in application to the relations of domestic life. No wise head of a family withholds instruction from his children on the reciprocal duties of parent and child, and of the parties to a marriage contract. Yet how many shades of difference of opinion are there as to the proper extent of parental power, and to that of the correspondent obedience of the child? Similar diversities prevail as to the other relations. Is sage instruction to be delayed on these accounts?

"The like remark may be made on the subject of civil rulers, and of the allegiance due from the citizen or subject. What a wide field is open by the claims of power in the hands of a single person, or in those of a few, or in an aristocracy, or in a popular assembly, or in some one of the many mixed forms which have been either adopted or imagined! According to the reasoning of the will, all determination should be deferred to the ages of fourteen or fifteen, or perhaps eighteen; yet, in disregard of such laxity, every good citizen instils into the minds of his offspring senti-

ments which sustain the rights of those who govern, and exact obedience within the limits of the laws.

"The present writer has a very limited acquaintance with the gentlemen who compose the respectable bodies of our city councils. He supposes of the most, and thinks it probable of all of them, that they confess the claims of religion, by denominating themselves as belonging, each of them, to one or to another of the religious societies within the bounds of the city. He therefore, with great respect, submits to their understandings how far they can, with clear consciences, undertake the government of a seminary which discharges its pupils from all regard to religious obligation, and from all subjection to religious discipline. They cannot but be aware of the contrariety of so ungodly a regimen to those Holy Scriptures which they make the foundation of their several creeds. In the Old Testament they read—'bring up a child in the way in which he should go.' They cannot be ignorant of what the Jewish lawgiver says concerning the laws of God—'thou shalt diligently teach them to thy children, and thou shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou lyest down, and when thou risest up.' And, if moral cultivation be a part of the plan of any literary institution, it cannot be beyond the reach of the caution—'the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.' The calls of the New Testament are in unison with those of the Old—'ye parents bring up your children in the nurture and admoni-

tion of the Lord;' 'children obey your parents in the Lord; and, 'I write unto you, little children, because ye have known the Father.' Very different are these and the like provisions from the delay of even the mention of such sanctions of duty to young men under the ages of fourteen or fifteen, or towards eighteen; whatever need there may be seen of them in the increasing strength of their passions and of their appetites.

"Let there be attention to the operation of the bequest in its occasional violation of the tenderest feelings of the parental breast. We will suppose four religious men—an Episcopalian, a Presbyterian, a Baptist and a Methodist—in circumstances barely competent to the subsistence of their families. Let them perceive themselves departing this life, without provision for the support and the education of their children; and no other guardianship over them to be relied on, beside that of certain functionaries of the city, wisely provided for the object. These guardians may judge the binding of them to reputable tradesmen to have less prospect of advantage than the entering of them into the contemplated receptacle of orphans. According to the character of the supposed dying men, notwithstanding the diversities of their opinions on various points, they would be the same in the design, had their lives been spared, of giving a religious education to their children; whose deaths they would deem a less calamity than their being thrown on a world of temptation at the age of four-

teeen, or of fifteen, or of eighteen, without the knowledge of God or of a future state, or of those Scriptures which, in the parental estimate, are necessary to their being made 'wise unto salvation.' A great proportion of the children of the poor are disposed of under a guardianship created by the laws. This will probably be the principal source of supply to a seminary in which the sound of the voice of religion is never to reach the ears of the juvenile inmates.

"It would be unjust to the memory of Mr Girard not to notice his remarking it as a privilege of his orphans, on their arrival at the age for the leaving of the seminary, to adopt such tenets as their matured reason may enable them to prefer. It is not to the purpose to inquire how far this privilege, which his protegées will derive from the laws of the land, may be supposed to add to or enforce the moral education which they may have brought with them from the seminary. Whatever may have been, or may not have been, the wishes of the testator to this point; and whatever effect our favourable construing of his views may have on our estimate of his own character, it is all foreign to the present argument, which tends to the two positions, that it is irreligious and unchristian to accept of the public responsibility of an institution, to the pupils of which there shall be denied all instruction in religion, and that if other motives are sufficient for their government until their arrival at the ages of fourteen and fifteen and eighteen, no rea-

son can be given why they may not be sufficient through the remainder of life.

"Perhaps there may seem an interference of the argument with a prejudice not uncommon, that the minds of the secluded orphans would be sensible of impressions made on them by nature of the being of God, and of their responsibility to his tribunal. This is the exploded doctrine of innate ideas. If there be any not yet reached by what has been written on the subject by John Locke, they may be referred to the observations lately made on those born deaf and dumb; who know nothing of the primary truths of religion, until taught through the medium of the expedients brought into operation for that unfortunate class of the human family. Whether the design of Mr Girard can be strictly executed, may be considered as a problem. Should this be the case, his orphans will leave the seat of their juvenile residence, as void of any trace of a knowledge of the Deity, as some who might be shown to him in an institution which in his will he has properly distinguished by a munificent donation.

"It is required, that for admission the orphan shall be between six and ten years of age. Doubtless, within those terms, there are sometimes salutary impressions on infant minds. Where this has been the case, it is not probable, that a single trace of them will remain through years, in a sphere so unfavourable to their cultivation.

"It may be anticipated, as very unlikely, that for the intended seminary there will be obtained, even if

it should be thought desirable, instructors who are believers in the Christian religion, and who have its interests at heart. Were this possible, it is easy to perceive the painful circumstances in which such instructors must sometimes find themselves. Let an instructor be supposed taking a walk with one of the pupils, on some fine morning during the renewal of the herbage of the year. Let there arise in the mind of the former, some such passage as the Address to the Deity, in Adam's Morning Hymn, in Milton—'These are thy wondrous works, Parent of good! Almighty, &c.' The instructor, warmed by the theme and by the surrounding scene, might be tempted to break out in such an act of adoration. But it would be unfaithfulness to his trust, and he must keep it a secret from his pupil that he believes in the existence of such a being. The supposition might be diversified by a great variety of cases; sufficient to show, that, under the provisions of the will, there will be an interdict of Christian instructors, whether designed or not, as well as of Christian teaching within the walls.

"That there will be the supply of teachers of a very different description, may be counted on; and modern times have multiplied those pests of society, who, under the profession of schoolmasters, lose no opportunities of infusing their poison of infidelity into unsuspicious minds. Such instructors have no authority, under the will, to go beyond the lessons of mere morality; so as to teach any doctrine of absolute irreligion—from the highest point of atheism to the most

specious of all the expedients for the misrepresentation of any of the contents of Holy Scripture. But no one, acquainted with human nature, will believe that such instructors, in teaching, will find reluctance to the guarding of their pupils against the religious truths which will be addressed to them on their entrance into social life; resolving what they will hear into popular fable and superstition, which it is now high time to lay aside.

"From the tenor of the argument, there will have been anticipated the opinion of what should be expected from city councils. It is, that there should be a respectful but determined rejection of the trust intended to be instituted by the will of Stephen Girard, Esq., for the maintaining and the educating of orphans.

"It is a great sacrifice; but it cannot be too great, when the acceptance of it would be an acknowledgement that religion, even in its simplest forms, is unnecessary to the binding of men to their various duties. As yet, no such theory has shown its face in the proceedings of any of the constituted authorities of the United States. If the breaking of this unholy ground should be a corporate act of our city councils, there will be apprehended from it the most disastrous consequences, by

"A Citizen of Philadelphia.

"P.S. Since the penning of the above, it appears from the newspapers, that the honourable legislature

and the city councils have reciprocally appointed committees, to confer on the subject of the legacy. We are in an awful crisis. It is submitted to legislative decision, whether the state of Pennsylvania, founded on the acknowledgement of a God, shall declare by a solemn act, that the belief of such a Being is unnecessary to the moral cultivation and government of the human kind. There will be no affirmation of the non-existence of God. But it will commit the question of his existence to the class of philosophical inquiries, having no more connection with human conduct, than that which was formerly a problem among the learned, now resolved—whether the figure of the earth be oblong or oblate.

"AN APPENDIX.

"To the Editor of the National Gazette.

"Dear Sir:—It was intended to insert the foregoing in your paper some days ago; but there has been a delay, in consequence of constructions of the will of Mr Girard widely different from those presumed to be evident on the face of the instrument. It is affirmed that there being no prohibition of the lay teaching of the fundamental principles of religion as the foundation of morals, the absence of positive provision is no proof that it may not be so applied.

"Should the city councils adopt such a construction, nothing can be further from your correspondent, than the wish to apply to the case an argument bottomed on so different a view of the will, and which

may be perverted to an intent opposite to that designed. Even in regard to certain spiritual functionaries excluded, it may be questioned, in the case of a youth—say between fourteen and eighteen—in distress of mind and near his end, who should desire a visit from one of them—it may even be from one who had been his father's pastor—whether the prohibition of the interview would not be an act of intolerance unheard of beyond the bounds of the orphan house. Even this difficulty is met by ingenious interpretation.

"In your paper of this evening you show yourself favourable to liberal constructions of the above description. May they improve the features of the scheme, if it should go into operation: but be assured there will not be wanting those who will clamour for an adherence to the letter of the will. It must be left to the consciences of the honourable bodies concerned, whether they believe in the correctness of the latitude adopted in the interpretation of it; and, if they do not, whether they will take on themselves the awful responsibility of the rejection of religion, as the foundation of human duty.

"I am, dear sir, respectfully,

"A Citizen of Philadelphia."

The language of the will gave ground for the Bishop's apprehensions of the evils likely to result from the execution of the trust. But hope may be entertained that, in practice, they may not be produced, at least in the extent supposed. The corpora-

tion of this city accepted the trust perhaps wisely: because as it, being charitable and moral, could not be regarded as unlawful on account of its defectiveness, the execution of it might, on the refusal of the corporation to accept, be devolved on others not so well disposed to guard, as effectually as their powers would enable them, against the apprehended mischiefs. And those who have hitherto had the charge of its execution—which has yet advanced, however, no further than a partial preparation of the necessary buildings—have adopted a construction of the will, which, should it continue to be adhered to, may in a great degree prevent them. The clergy are indeed excluded from the institution; but there is no direction that the pupils may not receive the benefit of religious worship and instruction elsewhere. And as it is provided that moral instruction shall be given, and this cannot be fully and effectually communicated, unless morality is supported by religious motives and principles, Christian instruction may be given in the institution, though not by the instrumentality of the clergy. The Bishop, notwithstanding, was convinced that, if this was a reasonable construction of the language of the will, it was very different from the real views of the testator.

The other occasion, before alluded to, was the departure, in the spring of 1835, of Messrs Hanson and Lockwood, the first missionaries to China, employed by our Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society; an event which excited an extensive and lively interest

throughout the Church. Instructions to the missionaries, relative to their conduct on the mission, in addition to the usual instructions given by the society, were prepared by Dr White, its president, who himself partook largely of the interest excited—were publicly read by himself to the missionaries, at a meeting in Philadelphia, and again by the Rev. Dr Hawks, at a meeting in New York, on the occasion of their sailing for China—and were universally admired for the vigour of mind, prudence, liberality and sound principles manifested in them. They were as follows:

"ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE MISSIONARIES TO CHINA.

"May 29, 1835.

"Reverend and Dear Brethren:

"With this there will be delivered to you printed letters of instruction, which it is the duty of the Bishop, as president of the executive committee of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, to deliver to each of the missionaries before his departure to the sphere of his intended labours. So far as personal piety, a correspondent course of Christian conduct, and an enlightened zeal, are exacted of every labourer in the field before us, there shall be no addition to the document referred to. But as in the land of your destination there are some strong peculiarities distinguishing it from the rest of the unconverted world, there may be propriety in bringing those local cir-

cumstances into view. You are aware that during some ages past the spiritual condition of China has resembled an iron bound coast; the one forbidding the approach of ships, and the other excluding all religious improvement, especially that to be brought about by publishing the contents of the ever blessed Gospel. The greater is our cause of joy occasioned by late well authenticated accounts of the decrease of prejudice; of willingness in very many to listen to Gospel truth; and of this as predicable not only of provinces near to the ocean, and accessible to Europeans, but extending into the interior. Here are symptoms of preparations for a change, in which the worship of mortal men* and of gods made with hands shall be superseded by the acknowledgement of the one true God, and of the revelation which he has made of himself in the person of his adorable son.

"It is to be hoped that you will derive aid from the labours of the late Dr Morrison, who has translated the whole of the Bible into the Chinese language. He has also composed a grammar and a dictionary, which will be helps to you in making yourselves acquainted with the language. This will be an object of your concern, and not the least difficult part of it. You cannot too soon attain to this preparation for your work, especially as it is essential to your identifying yourselves with the inhabitants as much as is proper in their habits and manners, which is said to

* The Grand Lamas.

be of importance toward the acquiring of their confidence. Our prospect of success has been very much brightened by what has been given to the world on the testimony of the Reverend Charles Gutzlaff; whose unwearied endeavours, and the success of them, have offered greater encouragement than any before imagined to the preaching of the Gospel to the Chinese. The achievements of this zealous herald of the cross have had no small share in inciting the present effort of the managers of the Missionary Society and of their executive committee, and may be supposed to have contributed to the engaging of the two missionaries who have offered themselves to the work. There might be introduced the names of sundry men who have been successfully employed in the same; but the annunciation of their services would be inconsistent with the desired brevity. Their names and their services, however, ought to be familiar to you as found in our Missionary Record, in order that in your intercourse with them you may be prepared to show them the respect due in proportion to their several merits. In the tie which binds you to the Episcopal church, there is nothing which places you in the attitude of hostility to men of any other Christian denomination, and much which should unite you in affection to those occupied in the same cause with yourselves You should rejoice in their successes, and avoid as much as possible all controversy, and all discussions which may provoke it, on points on which they may differ from our communion.

without conforming in any point to what we consider as erroneous. If controversy should be unavoidable, let it be conducted with entire freedom from that bitterness of spirit and that severity of language which cannot serve the cause of God under any circumstances; while in the sphere which you will occupy they will be repulsive from a religion which produces no better fruits on the tempers of its teachers. In the vicissitudes of European commerce, and especially in that of Canton, you will find many who speak your language, and whose object is the pursuit of commerce. It is to be lamented that no European government has sustained even the appearance of divine worship among these its distant subjects. Perhaps they may show themselves indifferent or even hostile to your design. In either case you will keep the even tenor of your way; not moved by the fear or expectation of the favour of men. It may happen incidentally to your ministry that some of these temporary residents shall be brought by it to a better mind in regard 'to the things which belong to their peace.' Especially they ought to be cautioned of the responsibility which they would incur by discouragement of the endeavours for the conversion of the heathen; while, under notice of missionaries employed for that purpose, there are so many professing the same faith, 'yet living without God in the world.' You cannot be ignorant that in a former age the Christian religion was extensively propagated in China; being countenanced by successive emperors, and by others of high rank in

the empire. Neither can it be unknown to you that this was succeeded by an extensive persecution of all who owned the name of Christ. It is certain that the change arose from the interference of the decrees of a foreign jurisdiction with immemorial usages of the Chinese. It is an old subject of debate whether those decrees were called for by the integrity of Christian truth. Without discussing the question of them, the reason of noticing them is to remark, that in reference to foreign jurisdiction there can be no room for any difficulty concerning it within our communion; which holds the church in every country to be competent to self-government in all matters left to human discretion. No faithful minister of our church will, in any instance, relax a requisition of the Gospel, in accommodation to unscriptural prejudices of his converts; but he will not bind them in any chain not bound on them by his Master. It has even been said that the court of Pekin found itself in danger of being brought under subjection to a foreign prelate. In proportion to the odium of such a charge, the converted Chinese should be assured of safety in the enjoyment of the liberty 'wherewith Christ hath made them free.'

"In proposing the evidences of the Christian religion to the Chinese, and indeed to heathens of any description, there is to be avoided the alternate danger, on the one hand, of the measuring of success by any excitement of sensibility, which may be short lived; and on the other, the not exhibiting of the subject in such a point of view as shall show it to be con-

genial with the best sensibilities of our nature. The ground taken by the apostles must certainly be that which may most safely be taken by all the ministers of the Gospel. When St Peter addressed a Jewish audience, as in the second chapter of Acts, he laid the stress on ancient prophecy. And when St Paul addressed heathen audiences, as in sundry passages of the same book, the argument used by him was the recent miracle of the resurrection. These are points which associate themselves with the liveliest of our hopes, and tend to the excitement of our best affections; yet it is through the door of the understanding that truth enters in order to the taking of possession of the heart. It is still the ground of prophecy and of miracles on which the truth of Christianity must be advocated; although not without their connection with that sinfulness of human nature to which the contents of the Gospel are so admirably adapted; laying in it the only foundation of trust in the pardon of sin, and of claim of deliverance from its thraldom; and in addition being fruitful of consolation, and a sure guide through life, and a stay of dependence in the hour of death and the day of judgment. Let but these interesting subjects take possession of the mind, and its natural language will be, 'What shall I do to be saved?'

"When the Gospel is preached to a heathen at the present day, we ought not to forget to extend to his case that forbearance of divine mercy which St Paul disclosed when he said to the Athenians, 'the times

of this ignorance God winked at.' Even when we have arrested his attention, but without reaching the point of his conviction, we ought not to be hasty in assuring ourselves that there may not be wanting something conciliatory in manner; or, perhaps, that there may be something repulsive in it. We ought therefore to wait in patience for more auspicious moments, and not rashly conclude that there is a 'hating of the light, lest the deeds should be reproved.' When there is contemplated the aggregate of Christian evidence; when there is seen that through the long tract of four thousand years there was a chain of history, of prophecy, of miracle and of prefiguration, looking forward to a dispensation to be disclosed at the end of that portion of time; when it is seen that there was then manifested the great sacrifice which fulfilled all that had gone before; and when there is read the record of a sacrifice commemorative of the same, to be perpetuated until the second coming of the divine Ordainer, to sit in judgment on the world: it is a mass of proof, which, properly presented, will command the assent of unbiassed men in all times and places; progressing in its influence to the promised issue, when 'all the kingdoms of the world shall have become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ.'

"These suggestions, our missionary brethren, might be carried on to an indefinite extent. But they shall be concluded with prayer for your prosperity, and for your success in the great work before you; and with

the hope that now is the time, when there is the beginning of the verifying of the promise, 'from the rising of the sun, until the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles.'

"There seem indications of this in the efforts lately put forth for the evangelizing of the world, very different from those of former days, which were by war and persecution. Those now employed are in the spirit of which we read in the fourteenth chapter of the Apocalypse (v. 6), of 'an angel flying in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting Gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people.' This splendid image is introduced immediately before the denunciation of the fall of mystic Babylon, and as there are signs of the times pointing to that crisis, the passage may reasonably be interpreted of what is immediately to precede, rather than is done by some of the reformation: a blessed event, but, in the estimation of him who addresses you, not of so great an extent, nor so happily answering in point of time to the terms of the passage, as the interpretation which has been long entertained by him who now presents it with diffidence, and with submission to maturer judgments.*

"Once more, reverend and dear brethren, with

* It seems further from the mark to interpret the passage of the Waldenses and the Albigenses, and of the other early witnesses so distant in point of time.

prayer for the divine blessing on your missionary labours,

"I am your affectionate brother,

"WM WHITE,

"Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania."

By the general convention of 1835, Bishop White and Dr Hawks were appointed a committee to apply, in the name of the convention, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and other persons and institutions in England, for documents possessed by them illustrative of the early history of our Church, or copies thereof, for the use of the church in this country. Dr Hawks proceeded to London, and was very successful in his applications and researches. He took with him letters from Bishop White to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London. That to the archbishop was as follows:

"Philadelphia, March 17, 1836.

"My Lord Archbishop:

"Your grace will pardon the liberty taken by a stranger, on finding that his object has a bearing on the ecclesiastical literature of a church which claims its descent from the church in which your grace presides.

"The bearer of this letter is the Reverend Francis L. Hawks, D.D., rector of St Thomas's church in the

city of New York: who has been much occupied in the collection of documents relative to the history of the Episcopal churches in these United States. In prosecution of the design he is now preparing to visit England, under the expectation of finding in that kingdom many records, to which access may be had, if his views should be favoured by your grace in your archiepiscopal character, and in that of president of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

"We trust that while one fruit of the labours of this gentleman, will be the perpetuating of the accounts of the origin of our communion, another will be the doing of justice to our parent church, in the recording of the aids furnished to her progeny in their colonial state.

"By the general convention of the American Church in August last there was appointed a committee, consisting of their presiding bishop and Dr Hawks, for the furthering of the present object. Evidence of this appointment may be seen at the one hundredth page of the journal, a copy of which will be delivered with this letter.

"Being in the fiftieth year of the Episcopal succession, received by me from the hands of one of the predecessors of your grace, the venerable Archbishop Moore, whose attentions and courtesies I remember with gratitude, I cannot be much longer efficient in endeavours to raise our church from the desolation, almost amounting to annihilation, in which she was left by the war of the revolution. But it is in the

pursuit of the object to which my labours have been so long directed, that I solicit the condescension of your grace to the contents and the request of this letter; being, with great respect,

"Your Grace's very humble servant,

"WM WHITE.

"To the Most Reverend the Archbishop of Canterbury."

An interesting letter to the Bishop from Dr Hawks, on the subject of his mission, written not long after his arrival in London, was received in Philadelphia, a day or two after the Bishop's death; the greater part of which appears appropriate to the design of this memoir, and is therefore inserted.

"London, May 24, 1836.

"Right Reverend and Dear Sir:

"In the fulfilment of the duties confided to us by the general convention, in the matter of collecting all procurable documents which may illustrate the early history of our church, I have made my contemplated voyage, and now write to communicate to you the result of my mission. I waited first upon the Archbishop of Canterbury with your letter and a copy of the journal of the last general convention. I was received with great courtesy and indeed kindness of manner, and found in his grace one of the humblest and most unpretending of men. He had been apprised of my arrival, and of the object of my visit, by one of his clergy, to whom I had letters, and who had seen

my testimonials. I cannot better describe the scene which followed than by sending you a copy of my memoranda of our conversation, made upon my return home. After the first salutations I began:

"'Your grace, I believe, has already been informed by Mr Norris of the general object of my visit to England. This letter from the senior bishop of the American Church will more particularly explain the nature of my mission.'

"'Ah, this then is the handwriting of good Bishop White: I hope he is well.'

"'He was well, my lord, when I left America.'

"(He then began to read the letter silently.) After a short time, he said, 'How old is the good Bishop now?'

"'In his eighty-ninth year, my lord.'

"(Towards the close he began to read aloud, and continued so to read to the end.) He then said, 'How beautifully he has expressed himself—he is a venerable man.'

"'And, I assure your grace, beloved as well as venerated by the Church in America.'

"'No doubt of it. Well, I think there must be much in the library here which will be valuable to you, and every thing is at your service. The records of the Venerable Society must also contain a great deal of information. I know that there are some MSS. in the library here touching America, but I have never been able to examine them particularly, for I have but little time. We have a catalogue of our

MSS., which I will show you.' (Here he rose to get it.)

"'Through the kindness of Mr Norris I have seen a copy of that catalogue, and examined it most carefully; it offers very many valuable papers to our purpose, if, through the kindness of your grace, we may obtain access to them.'

"'Oh that you shall have most cheerfully.'

"(I then handed him the copy of the journal; and, in reply to his question about the constitution of our church, explained to him in few words our system of government, &c.; and expressing the sense of obligation which we felt in America to the Church of England for having planted and so long sustained us. I added that the present condition of our communion was an honourable monument to the zeal and piety of the Church of England; and we were anxious to tell the world our story; because we hoped that, among other things, it would be unsolicited testimony to the excellency of the parent church, and well-timed as coming when she was assailed by a strange combination of those who were heretofore enemies to her and to each other. I said that the Venerable Society might point to our present prosperity, and challenge any other missionary society to show equal fruits of its labours.)

"'I am very happy to hear of the prosperity of the—Episcopal Church in America; I was going to say of *the Church*, for such (it may be from my old fashioned notions) I cannot help considering her. I

do not mean to say that those without episcopacy are not churches, but they are irregular ones, by their departure from primitive usage. A history of your church would be very interesting: I hope it will be written.'

"'Bishop White has written, my lord, an account of our *general* history since the revolution; and I hope, ere long, to put a copy into the hands of your grace' (and then I was obliged to tell him that I was at work, and had published the volume, on the Virginia Church).

"'I shall be glad to see them both, and always pleased to render any service in my power to the American Church. And now let me see how I can aid you. I must bring you into communication with Mr Rose' (the Reverend Hugh James Rose, his chaplain, and he sent a servant for him).

"When Mr Rose entered, he introduced me, and explained my business, and immediately arranged with Mr Rose for affording me access at all times, and every desirable facility in my researches. 'Now,' said he, 'I must help you further; you shall have all you wish from the records of the Venerable Society; and you must search the British Museum, for there is a great deal about America. I will give you the necessary introduction there at once.' Accordingly he wrote a note to Sir Henry Ellice and Mr Torshall—the principal and second librarians. When he handed me the notes, he rose, and I took it as a signal to withdraw. I rose also, and said—'It only

remains that, in the name of the Episcopal Church in America, I should thank your grace for the ready kindness with which you have met their wishes, and which I will not fail, my lord, properly to represent to them.'

" 'I shall be happy to serve them in this matter, and shall hope, sir, to have the pleasure of seeing you again.' He then shook hands with me, and I withdrew.

" I then proceeded to call on the Bishop of London, but did not see his lordship. The next day I again called at his residence, and left my letters, &c., but could not see him as he was sick; since which time he has been almost dead. He is now recovering. I have access however to all that he could furnish. Next I went to the British Museum; and there the archbishop's note made me as it were free of the whole house. All were thrown open to me. Next I went to the Venerable Society, and they again placed in my hands treasures indeed well worth the trouble of my voyage. In about forty volumes of MSS. I found all the original letters of our missionaries *ab initio*, with memorials, governors' letters, &c., furnishing a mass of information beyond my most sanguine hopes. These they put into my possession to have what copies made I pleased. Finally, through the kindness of the Reverend Thomas Hartwell Horne, I obtained access to the library of Sion College, where there are several valuable MSS. of Dr Bray's. I am now examining the MSS. of the Society, having

finished those at Lambeth, and have as many clerks employed in copying as I can get. I hope to bring home many folios of transcripts of deep interest and importance to our communion, and will leave nothing behind me really valuable, unless my funds fail to pay for transcribing. I am working very hard, reading MSS. night and day, and shall be glad when I can leave London to examine the libraries at Oxford and Cambridge, where I have agents now at work. Bishop Doane expressed much interest in the ends of my mission the day before I left New York; and I must therefore request that when you see him you will communicate what I have written. Do not, however, let any thing (save of a general character) be *printed*; because we shall make a detailed report to the general convention, which will be put upon our journals.*

* * * * * * * *

"Very respectfully and affectionately,

"Your son and servant in the Church,

"FRANCIS L. HAWKS."

* When this memoir was first prepared, and was expected to be immediately published, this letter was not inserted. But Dr Hawks has since made his report to the general convention of 1838. It may be found in the appendix to the journal of that body. A letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated Lambeth, the 1st of August 1836, is appended to it, containing the following postscript (pp. 134, 135):

"P.S. I have been exceedingly gratified by Bishop White's attention in sending me the second edition of his Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. The work is more than ordinarily valuable as an authentic record of transactions of the

The last piece written by Bishop White was a short essay "On Wanderings in Prayer," composed a few days before his last illness, and published in the "Protestant Episcopalian." It will, for this as well as other reasons, be interesting; and is inserted in the Appendix.*

The Bishop, during his long life, had been providentially blessed with excellent health, very seldom interrupted by attacks of sickness or by accidents. His constitution was naturally firm; and was preserved in vigour by exercise and a regular course of life. But his existence now drew to its close. In June 1836 he had a severe attack of sickness, which occasioned much uneasiness; but from it he recovered, and was again enabled to attend to official duties; and even appeared to have acquired more vigour than he possessed previous to the attack. On the last

highest importance to the American Church, and as a lasting memorial of the truly Christian principles, temper and conduct of the venerable persons, American and English, by whose prudence and piety the proceedings were brought to a happy issue. I trust that the relation thus providentially established between the two Churches will subsist unimpaired, and will be acknowledged by mother and daughter with sentiments of mutual respect and affection to the end of the world. To the venerable prelate who may be regarded as, in more senses than one, the father of your Episcopal Church, I request you to convey my warm and sincere congratulations on his having been preserved by a gracious Providence to rejoice in the success of his labours, and in the prospect of a still brighter futurity. That his most sanguine hopes may be realized, and that the evening of a life devoted to the service of God, and the benefit of mankind, may be unclouded with pain or sorrow is my earnest prayer."

* Appendix, No. X.

Sunday in that month, when he preached for the last time at St Peter's, it was remarked that he delivered the discourse with greater energy, strength of voice and effect, than had been for a long time usual with him. The consecration of the bishop elect of Michigan (Reverend S. A. M'Coskry) was soon to take place; on which occasion Dr White was expected to preside and preach. But during the night of the 2d of July, having risen from bed, he fell with some violence on the floor; for which no cause could be discovered, except mere weakness. And though he did not appear to have received any internal injury, but only some outward bruises, yet his physical powers were weakened, and gradually failed. His son, who slept in the same chamber, being roused by his fall, replaced him in bed, from which he did not again rise. His strength gradually decayed, without pain or uneasiness, until his dissolution took place on the 17th of July. Though his mind was in some measure affected by the decay of his bodily powers, he preserved the possession of it to the last, except that on a few occasions it appeared to wander, and by the movements of his hands he seemed to suppose himself engaged in the performance of some episcopal office. But at other times he recognized every friend who visited him, and conversed with them, though briefly and with difficulty. He was fully aware of his condition, and evidently viewed it with the composure which might be expected from the whole tenor of his life; from his having long and

habitually fixed his thoughts on his approaching departure; and from the evenness and moderation of his disposition and feelings. His end was therefore marked by the serenity, and by the deep-seated and sweetly calm religious consolation and trust in the mercy of God through the Redeemer, which were in perfect consistency with his own declared principles of religion, and with the uniform character of his feelings, conversation and life. There was nothing of elation in his manner or language. At no period of his life had he been disposed to speak of the influences of religion upon himself. That his heart and conduct were controlled and regulated by its principles was undoubted. But the inclinations and feelings which were the result were always of that retired and unobtrusive kind which fill and satisfy the soul, while (in the language of Scripture) "with them a stranger intermeddleth not." They were manifested only by their fruits. This reluctance to make them the subjects of conversation is far from being cause of doubt of their existence or power. The deepest and strongest feelings are less apt than others to vent themselves in words, or to excite the desire of making them subjects of discourse. Besides, his aversion to every thing approaching to self display led him, from principle, to avoid this course. Such being his previous views and dispositions, they still continued, as might naturally be expected, to influence him during his last illness. He was not disposed, of his own accord, to speak concerning the state of his mind, his expecta-

tions or consolations. It was only in reply to some remarks made to him by Bishops Doane and M'Coskry, who were attending him, that he spoke at all upon the subject. But then he fully expressed, with greater warmth and animation than it was believed his weakness would have allowed, and than was usual with him, his reliance upon the merits of the Redeemer alone for acceptance; and the comfort, the "charming" gratification, of being enabled to trust in the divine goodness, and to realize the protecting care of God in life and in death.

The illness and danger of the Bishop were known extensively through the different dioceses; and "prayer was made without ceasing of the Church unto God for him." On Sunday, the 17th of July, between eleven and twelve o'clock, A. M., during the morning worship of the Church, and soon after the prayer had as usual been offered for him—and probably at the very time when, from some of the churches, it was ascending on his behalf before the throne of God—surrounded by his own family, composed of his son, his only surviving child, and his grandchildren, who had paid to him unwearied attention (his other friends who were usually with him having gone to attend the public worship), he expired without a sigh or groan, so calmly, that the period of his dissolution could not be marked by his attendants.*

* The Bishop's death took place at his dwelling-house, in Walnut Street, No. 89, above Third Street. It had been his residence since his return from England, in 1787, after his consecration—more than fifty years.

His death, having been long contemplated in consequence of his great age, and for some time looked for, could not cause strong emotion; but it produced, throughout the whole community, deep regret and solemn feeling. Perhaps another instance has scarcely occurred, in which these were manifested in equal degree and extent, on account of the death of a man who had not held any very prominent public station, or been engaged in employments usually attracting popular regard and commendation; but had passed a long life in performing the unobtrusive duties of the sacred office, in the same diocese and parish. They were caused solely by reverence and attachment for the man. On the day of his funeral, there was voluntarily a general suspension of business. In particular, the stores were for the most part closed in the streets through which the procession was to pass, as were many also in other parts of the city. The public authorities, the various literary, charitable and religious bodies, the clergy and members of the different Christian churches, united in paying respect to his memory. And the good order and silence of the many thousands who thronged the streets, besides the great number composing the funeral procession, were a striking manifestation of the public sentiments. He was interred in his family vault at Christ Church, on Wednesday, the 20th of July.

From the nature of the Bishop's employments and course of life, it could not be expected, however desirable and satisfactory it might be, that his character

should be fully exhibited by the detail of the incidents and actions of his life. It may, indeed, be perceived, in a considerable degree, from the preceding memoirs of them. But it will be proper here to collect together its various features, and complete the representation. I am deeply conscious of my inability to do it justice—to delineate it in any good degree equal to its real beauty and excellence. Yet an humble attempt will be made. My opportunities of forming a judgment of it have been favourable; as I have had the advantages of an intimacy with him from my childhood—of having been brought up under his pastoral care—of being favoured, during many years, with his friendship—and for the last nineteen years of his life, elapsed since my application for orders, of having enjoyed the benefit of official as well as friendly intercourse. Perhaps from several of these circumstances, the existence of a too partial bias may be suspected: yet, it is believed, without foundation; and no fear is entertained, that in the community in which he was best known, the delineation to be given will be called a panegyric, or be thought to contain any undue commendation. The endeavour will be to present it with perfect simplicity and truth.

His principles and conduct, in reference to the organization and government of the Church, may be sufficiently understood from the account already given. This part of his character, from its nature, may be fully exhibited by the facts relating to the part which he took on those subjects; and could in no other way

be satisfactorily illustrated. But it is otherwise with respect to those features of it which were formed by his personal, domestic, social, civil and ministerial qualities and course of life. Of them an outline must be given.

His temper and inclinations were early formed and moulded, under the influence of religious principles and habits. So soon in life did these begin their operation, through maternal care, for which he always felt and often expressed his obligations, that no evidence exists of what may have been, independently on that operation, his natural propensities and dispositions. As a child, as a boy, as a man, he was noted for his goodness. He appeared, indeed, to be constitutionally calm, moderate and benevolent: so that it has been supposed that he had little to overcome by the aid and influence of religion: a conclusion not warranted by the fact that such was the character which he evidently possessed from a very early period of life. For this was a consequence of the timely and deep impressions of religious truth on his heart. And indications might occasionally be observed of feelings, which, had they not been subjected to such influences, might have led to the formation of a different character. Such were the uniform respect and affection for him, and such the consequent exemption from inimical opposition and other causes of irritation, that he was seldom exposed to incidents which rouse angry or resentful feelings. Yet on the few occasions of this kind which did occur, he manifested a keen

sense of unmerited censure or injurious treatment, though controlled and regulated by the superior power of religious principle; which enabled him to preserve a truly Christian deportment, even under considerable provocation.

From the same temperament of his mind and constitution, his religious feelings appeared calm and moderate, and destitute of that ardour and strength which are, by many, thought the necessary accompaniments and indications of a true and effective knowledge and experience of the transforming influence of religious truth. But, though calm and moderate, they were deeply seated, sincere, steady, serene. There is the less reason to question their reality and power, from the circumstance that, in matters not immediately connected with religion, his feelings were of the like character. They were not ardent or violent on such subjects or occasions, while they were found to be cool and moderate on those of religion: which might perhaps justify a belief that they were not genuine, in the latter case. As displayed in his social, domestic, and most intimate and friendly intercourse, they were of the same kind. Throughout the whole, there was complete and beautiful consistency.

With respect to those religious feelings which are produced by a deep sense of actual sinfulness, and which, in the opinion of many, should, at least in the commencement of the Christian life, and as introductory to a more happy state of mind, be strong and harassing, and even approaching to gloom and despon-

dency, the Bishop does not appear to have experienced them. But is this a cause for doubting the truly evangelical character of his own personal religion? Can the same feelings be expected from men of widely different characters and conduct?—from those who have long lived in neglect of religious duty, or perhaps in profligate violation of it, until arrested in their sinful course by the alarms of conscience; and those who have early yielded themselves willingly to the sweet influence of Christianity, and the guidance of the spirit of God, and have consequently always principally directed their view, and exerted their endeavours to secure the favour and approbation of the Deity through the merits of the Redeemer? Or is it found by experience, that the divine methods of bringing men from their natural sinful state, to one of devotion of themselves to his service, are in all cases the same, instead of being almost infinitely varied according to the varied characters and circumstances of the objects of his mercy? Reason, supported by the principles and examples of Scripture, would lead to the opinion, that it is impossible, from the very nature of the cases, that the same compunctions of conscience should be experienced by one who had pursued the course of life which distinguished Bishop White; and one who had been guilty of gross violations of duty, or had long lived in habits of actual sin voluntarily indulged, or weakly yielded to without resistance. There would, indeed, it is fully admitted and thought to be an essential truth of the Christian

religion, be great cause for deep sensibility, in the former characters as well as in the latter, of the evil of sin, of the strong natural propensity of men to commit it, and of their actual transgressions; and of the consequent duty of all to humble themselves before the throne of mercy. But of this Dr White was fully sensible. None was further than he was from admitting any reliance whatever on human merit, either as a principle of Christian doctrine, or as applied to his own case. His religion was truly humble. However justly he might have claimed a superiority in moral and religious merit above the great body, and almost the whole of his fellow men—a superiority very commonly confessed wherever he was known—yet he himself was little disposed to draw even this comparison. And when he regarded the light in which he stood before the holy and all-perfect Being to whom he was accountable, he felt and acknowledged unworthiness—abandoned all dependence on his own deserts—and looked for pardon and acceptance only through the atonement made by the Saviour for the sins of the world.

Were I allowed—and my long and intimate knowledge and observation of him may perhaps be admitted to justify the claim—were I allowed to characterize his religious feelings, and to attribute them to their true source, I could not avoid pronouncing them to be of that submissive, steady, sweetly serene and consolatory kind, which the Gospel encourages us to expect from such an advancement as he had made, through

divine grace, towards the attainment of the "perfect love which casteth out fear."

On this subject is subjoined a just and beautiful passage from the sermon delivered by Bishop H. U. Onderdonk, at the funeral. "The distinguished father in the Church over whose remains" the reflections now offered you "have been uttered, was one of the most conspicuous and perfect examples of the kind of piety which approaches to innocence, and which consequently manifests but little of the emotion that springs, directly or indirectly, from a consciousness of deep sin. Amid all his points of eminence,—and many such were his—this was the greatest eminence of all. He was eminent as the minister of religion in the councils which gave liberty to his country; and as the friend and the pastor of Washington. He was eminent as, through a long life, the centre of affection to a large community, without a foe or an evil wisher at any time, but beloved and revered by all. He was eminent as one of our first bishops; for nearly fifty years the bishop of this diocese; and for more than forty years the senior bishop of our communion, always exercising in it a wide influence, mild and paternal. But he was more eminent as a 'perfect man and an upright,' the 'good and faithful servant' of his divine Master, 'keeping innocency and taking heed to the thing that is right,' ever 'walking blameless in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord,' and 'having always a conscience void of offence towards God and towards men.' He belonged to that

very small class of Christians, who bear from infancy the image of Christ, and never deface it by vice, by worldliness or by flagrant neglect, and who thus, though they know and feel that they are sinners, and have no hope but in the cross, do not *so* feel it as to exhibit the clear train of converting experience which other Christians undergo, whose piety was not so early, or has not proved so uniform and consistent. Emotion, which, if not arising from constitutional temperament, implies either change or the apprehension of a change, could have little power over one whose bright course was so undeviating. With a character so pure, it has been said of him, and not unaptly, that he was sanctified from the womb. His whole life, from infancy to extreme old age, spent in one community, neither that community, nor an individual either there or elsewhere, has even a whisper against him. So ignorant was he, personally, of evil—so far from conceiving how widely and in how many ways it operates, that he was as free from suspicion of others as from guile in his own bosom: indeed he was often too reluctant in the caution which foresees the natural workings of human motives. Thus pre-eminent in all good qualities and dispositions, it is not wonderful that his character was allowed by every one to have been that of a perfect man, and an upright. With all this excellence, unquestioned and unquestionable, the principles of our venerable father had no affinity whatever with those which recognize the merit of human virtue; which rest the hope of immortality on moral

accuracy, even as combined with punctilious religious performances; which look for acceptance with God to any source but the merits only of the Redeemer."

Other traits of the Bishop's character corresponded with those already noticed. In his intercourse with his family and relatives he manifested an affection tender, constant and judicious; and he received from all of them the reverence and attachment so justly due. His general social intercourse was distinguished by benevolence and urbanity, flowing from a heart disposed to promote the happiness and gratification of all around him. With these he possessed a delicacy of feeling which made him instinctively shrink from any thing that might wound the feelings of others. His society was sought by old and young, and by each sex. His conversation, in which he readily and freely engaged and took pleasure, was cheerful, animated and full of anecdotes relating to the interesting scenes which he had himself beheld at different periods of his life, and the numerous persons of distinction with whom he had formerly been acquainted. For his memory was retentive and accurate; not only with respect to facts occurring in early life, which is not uncommon in aged men—but also to those of more recent occurrence, which is more unusual. Religion was readily made the topic of conversation whenever an occasion offered appearing to promise good from the introduction of its truths. But it was contrary to his principles, and thought by him injudicious and seldom productive of beneficial results, to press them

constantly into notice, without regard to suitable opportunities. The deportment of all towards him was easy and unrestrained, but respectful and affectionate: the dignity of his character and manners repressing any approach to undue familiarity. With all this mildness and suavity he could, when the occasion demanded, reprove with severity—with great skill, in consequence of his correct knowledge and judgment of the principles of human nature, and with much efficacy; either by words, or by marked silence and disapprobation, or other indications of his sentiments. Such a deportment and such dispositions and character attracted, as they were naturally adapted to do, the friendship and affection of all who knew him. No man, probably, could be more free than he was from experiencing the enmity of others, or more remote from enmity to them. It was remarked that he had no enemies, and was well spoken of by all; and for this last reason his friend and intimate, Dr Benjamin Rush, denounced against him (humorously) the wo pronounced in the Gospel, because all men spake well of him.

He thought it not inconsistent with his sacred office to be present at and partake of the public dinners on anniversary festivals or other celebrations. I was once informed by him, in the course of a conversation at a late period of his life, of his reasons for so doing. He believed it called for by his public station; that it tended to check improprieties, and also led to opportunities of usefulness which he should not other-

wise have obtained. But he early formed a resolution that if he lived to the age of seventy he should consider himself at liberty to decline them. To this resolution he accordingly afterwards adhered.*

Towards Christians of other denominations Dr White was tolerant and liberal; and with many of them sustained a friendly and intimate intercourse. This did not require any sacrifice of religious truth, or disregard or neglect of the interests of his own church; nor was he capable of either. His moderation did not proceed from indifference. He was firm in maintaining what he deemed religious truth, and in an enlightened attachment to the Episcopal Church.

* Having received from the Society for Commemorating the Landing of William Penn such an invitation for the one hundred and forty-eighth anniversary of that event—the 25th of October 1830—he declined the invitation, but transmitted a toast, which was given, and was in these words: "Perpetuity to the *religious establishment* constituted by William Penn, in the first act of the first legislative assembly of the province of Pennsylvania." The meaning of the toast will best appear from the language of the act referred to. It is entitled, "The law concerning liberty of conscience;" and provides, "that no person now, or at any time hereafter, dwelling or residing within this province, who shall profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his only son, and in the Holy Spirit, one God blessed for ever more, and shall acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration; and, when lawfully required, shall profess and declare that they will live peaceably under the civil government, shall in any case be molested or prejudiced for his or her conscientious persuasion, nor shall he or she be at any time compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry whatsoever, contrary to his or her mind; but shall freely and fully enjoy his or her Christian liberty in all respects, without molestation or interruption."

Both in these respects, and in the course pursued by him in the affairs of his own communion, moderation and firmness harmonized in an unusual degree; though it might sometimes be thought that they apparently interfered; only, however, in cases in which he avoided pressing an approved principle, because he thought the occasion unfavourable, and expected that one more propitious would occur. He felt and showed a proper deference and respect for the opinions of others; and was deliberate and cautious in forming his own; but, when once formed, they were steadily adhered to and acted upon.

The mildness and candour of the Bishop's disposition were strikingly illustrated by the spirit prevailing in his controversial writings. These were wholly free from the least infusion of animosity, bitterness, sarcasm, or unfairness in the statement of the opinions or motives of adversaries, by which such writings are too generally distinguished. Probably they may be less pleasing to many readers for the want of those properties: some of which, at least, are thought to add to the animation and interest of controversy. But they are more honourable to his character and Christian feelings: the more so, because theological controversy is so apt to excite unfriendly and violent emotions even in those who, on all other occasions, manifest a truly Christian temper. Candour, urbanity and the love of truth are preserved throughout his works. The support of sound and correct principles, and not victory or the display of intellectual ability

or learning, was his uniform object; which he sought to attain by just argument, without resort to misrepresentation or invective.

Modesty and humility appeared in his whole life and conversation—in his deportment in every station. Possessed of an unusual degree of personal influence, and of acknowledged eminence, he was perfectly unassuming, and apparently unconscious, certainly unostentatious, of both. Both also were received unsought; and both were probably much increased by this very cause. He even felt pain at receiving compliments on his own usefulness or attainments; though they were not designed merely as such, or uttered in his presence, but expressed with sincerity and truth in letters or publications. As a specimen of this may be adduced the following remark in a letter to Bishop Hobart (10th of August 1808), who had, in a review of his episcopal charge of 1807, spoken highly of his theological learning and abilities. "As a reviewer I think you too long in your extracts from my charge. If you go on so, it will take up too much of your room. I take well your gentle castigations; which I could answer, but have not time. It gave me less concern than the stroking which preceded. Be assured I felt a painful sensation on reading of my 'extensive and deep theological erudition;' for if I thought myself, as I do not, possessed of talents for it, circumstances have not permitted my being enough in my study for the acquisition." To these estimable features may be added

great innocency and purity of mind and manners, shining forth in his whole deportment, as if he were unconscious of evil.

His conduct in every situation, even the most unexpected and trying, evinced distinguished Christian prudence. This virtue had full scope for exercise and probation, in the various situations in which he was from time to time placed, by the incidents connected with the government and affairs of the Church over which he presided, and by his frequent intercourse with those of other denominations. By it he was enabled, without abandoning any principle deemed correct by himself or his own Church, to preserve harmony of feeling and intercourse with others, and obtained their respect and friendship. And an intellectual quality, possessed by him in a very eminent degree, and improved by close observation and experience, contributed largely to the good results of that prudence, and to the increase of his usefulness to the Church—I mean his accurate discrimination of the characters of men: in which he was seldom mistaken, when he had reasonable opportunities of forming a judgment He was not hasty or rash in adopting his opinion, or disposed to entertain prejudices, or to persevere in a mistaken judgment. The most perfect candour towards all was his aim and desire.

Being placed in a very extensive parish, as well as in a large diocese, his active duties were numerous and arduous, and necessarily occupied much of his time. Yet he was enabled to devote much also to the

labours of his study. It has often excited surprize that he was able to effect so much. But the causes were, his great and unintermitted industry—his exact method in the employment of his time—his strict punctuality in complying with every engagement (for which he was remarkable, and often produced the like habit in those with whom he had intercourse in business)—the ease with which he could fix his mind intently on the subject before him—and the clearness and rapidity of his conception. These habits and powers continued unimpaired until his last illness.

In relieving distress, and in other exercises of charity, he was benevolent and liberal. Yet his revenues were not large; his family became numerous; and his station exposed him to many unavoidable expenses. His income from his parish was about twenty-two or twenty-three hundred dollars. As bishop, he received nothing, except the interest on Mr Andrew Doz's legacy, of about four thousand dollars, which was the first foundation of the episcopal fund of the diocese: and he was frequently obliged to defray, himself, the expense of visiting different churches. He had, however, a respectable, but not large, private estate. The mention of this subject suggests the introduction of a remark made in a daily publication in Philadelphia,* shortly after his death. Referring to the notice in the London papers of that event, and of the comparative

* The United States Gazette. Its editor was not a member of the Episcopal Church.

mediocrity of his salary, the editor said: "Bishop White enjoyed a revenue beyond a monarch's command—his daily income was beyond human computation. If he went forth, age paid him the tribute of affectionate respect, and children 'rose up and called him blessed.'" The general sentiment applauded and concurred with the just and beautiful commendation.

The Bishop did not think that the character of a citizen of the commonwealth should be lost in that of the Christian minister. For he thought the duties and privileges of the former perfectly consistent with those of the sacred office. He constantly attended and voted at elections, agreeably to his conscientious judgment. But here he stopped. He would never condescend to perform the part of a political partisan. He inculcated the same course of conduct on his clergy and on candidates for orders, as a duty of the citizen still incumbent on them, and not dispensed with by the ministerial office. His own experience proved that his influence and respectability in *that*, were not at all diminished. The inconvenience, which, to an aged man, could not be slight, of attending a contested election, and delivering his vote amid the struggles of opposing parties, did not deter him from continuing to perform this duty, even in very advanced life. The reverence felt for him by all of them was sometimes, on such occasions, strikingly manifested by their suspending, on his approach, their struggles for access to the windows where the votes were deposited, and

opening a lane through which he could advance for that purpose, and again retire without difficulty. And the beneficial effect of the incident on the feelings of the multitude, was observed to continue for a considerable time. His principles on the subject are thus expressed by himself.*

Speaking of the promise at ordination "to maintain and set forwards quietness, peace and love among all Christian people, and especially among them that are, or shall be committed to his charge," he remarks: "Especially, the promise should have the effect of keeping a minister out of the vortex of civil broils. There can be no question of his right, or rather it is his duty to make a temperate use of any civil privileges with which the laws of his country clothe him. But with the allowance of this exception, there can be no greater degradation of the ministerial character —it may be added, no greater pest to the community, provided there be the weight of influence—than when it is employed by a minister of the Gospel, to thrust himself into public councils. Such a man will probably be under the influence of worldly passion: and much worse is to be expected of him than of other men, with the like views; because nothing can be so bad as such passions, either under the cloak of sanctity or under the violation of a sanctity, the calls of

* This extract is from an ordination sermon, not published. Similar sentiments will be found in his published work, On the Duties of the Ministry.

which were professed to be obeyed, and its duties to be practised. What oaths of office can be expected to bind the man, who, in the very act of taking them, sets at nought other engagements, made under stronger circumstances of solemnity? If the ministerial office can be at all useful, there is no way in which it may be more so, than in its raising of the harmonizing voice of religion, for the allaying of the jealousies and the resentments which result from the interfering interests and opinions of men in civil life. But does it appear, that, from the infancy of Christendom to the present day, this blessed work has been promoted by ecclesiastical politicians? The truth is, that they have been the fomenters of strife, in every line in which they have interfered. No wonder: because it was either the lust of power or the spirit of faction which drove them into the state of temptation. From such characters nothing else was to be expected, than that they should increase the confusion."

On three occasions—and I know of no others—at all connected with political affairs, he consented to preside at large public meetings. They were called for the following purposes: one, to promote the establishment of the American Colonization Society, held fifteen or sixteen years ago; a second, to consider what measures were proper to be adopted to express the sympathy of our Citizens for our Christian brethren, the Greeks, struggling for their lives, liberties and religion against the tyranny of the Turks, on the 11th of December 1823; and the third, on the 11th

of January 1830, for the purpose of considering the propriety of memorializing Congress, that in any measure of the government, in reference to the Cherokee and other nations of Indians, the faith of the United States towards them might be inviolably preserved. The Bishop's address, on the last occasion, will explain his motives for consenting to preside in that and similar meetings. On taking the chair, he addressed the assembly in these words:

"Fellow Citizens:—I solicit your indulgence while, with brevity, I state to you the reasons of my consenting to the proposed honour of presiding at this meeting, held with the view of having a bearing on *civil* legislation. What I am doing is alien from the habits of my life; and may be thought not in agreement with the decorum suited to the clerical character.

"Being of the opinion that the rights of the citizen are not merged in what is appropriate to the ministry of the Gospel; and knowing that the possession of constitutional rights cannot but exact the discharge of correspondent duties; I have always held myself not only privileged, but bound to declare my sentiments, and to accommodate to them my votes, on public measures of importance. On the other hand, aware of the mischiefs produced by the meddling of ecclesiastical politicians, I have thought, that to others than to ministers of the Gospel, the community should look for the *taking of the lead*, on questions relative to their civil interests.

"If it should seem a departure from this principle

that I am now to take my seat in the chair behind me, my defence is in the nature of the subject which has brought us together on this occasion. It is, that we may exercise the constitutional privilege of expressing our sense, on a question expected to come before the federal legislature, relative to interests not of ordinary occurrence; but directed to a measure in contrariety to the most imperious claims of justice, to very affecting appeals to our humanity, and to the faith of the nation, often pledged to a helpless and unoffending people, in rightful possession of the territory from which they are threatened to be withdrawn.

"In the opinion of him who addresses you, it will not be superstitious to entertain the fear, that such an act of government, should it be put forth, may draw down on us some of the calamities by which the righteous Ruler of the world, in the ordinary course of his providence, often causes that a national sin shall be the beginning of a series of national sufferings, ending in the prostration of legitimate and free government.

"For these reasons, I consider the object before us as claiming that, for the accomplishing of it, every heart should feel, every voice should be raised, and there should be put forth every energy, with moderation, but in such a direction as is the most likely to be efficient."

His political principles were maintained with great consistency, from the commencement of the revolution to the close of his life. They were those of the distinguished statesmen known in Pennsylvania by

the title of Republicans during the war of independence, and of Federalists at the time of the adoption of the existing constitution of the United States; and they were the same which characterized the administration of Washington. Notwithstanding the obloquy afterwards endeavoured to be cast upon them, he never abandoned his conviction of their correctness, and of their importance for promoting the general welfare: and he acted agreeably to them whenever an opportunity occurred.

We pass to the Bishop's character as a parochial clergyman. His faithfulness in the discharge of all the duties of the sacred office, will not be denied by any. Different opinions will be doubtless entertained concerning the most proper and efficient means for exciting and cherishing piety and virtue, so far as these may be promoted by human agency. On that subject, Dr White had deliberately and conscientiously formed his opinions, after attentive and serious reflection on the principles of Christianity and of human nature; and he found his opinions supported and strengthened by a long experience of the influence of the methods which he deemed most agreeable to the Gospel and the character of man, by appealing to the understanding and the affections. He had also attentively observed the effects of those of a different kind, preferred by many others, addressed to the feelings, and productive of great excitement. The former he thought the most, or indeed the only efficient means of producing genuine, deep and permanent

piety. The methods which he thought correct, he steadily and faithfully employed himself, and commended to all with whom he was officially connected.

His station united him, of course, with the several societies instituted in the Church,* for promoting the same great objects. And in presiding over and con-

* Besides those connected with the Church, he belonged to various literary, charitable, or religious institutions. The following information on this subject is contained in a letter from him to Robert Walsh, Esq., dated February 5, 1827. "In regard to my relations to sundry societies existing in this city, I inform you as follows: Of the Philosophical Society I have been a member ever since its formation, by a union of two societies, into one of which I had been chosen when a youth. This union took place nearly half a century ago. For some time, a few years after, I was one of the vice-presidents of the combined society. Owing to my many ecclesiastical engagements, and to some needless feuds of temporary prevalence, I have for many years omitted attendance on its meetings; continuing a member, and contributing to its expenses.

"Of the College I have been a trustee since the month of May 1784. In this station I may, in some sort, be said to have succeeded my father; who had been a trustee from the beginning, but while I was in England resigned his seat, after having been a diligent attendant on the meetings and the examinations; but from which he would have been prevented by increasing weakness, induced by an accidental lameness of many preceding years.

"My presidency in the Dispensary has been from the beginning of it, in 1786. The same in the Prison Society, from the beginning of it, in the same year.† The same in the Magdalen Society, from the beginning of it, in 1800. The same in the old Sunday School Society, consisting of members of different denominations, and the first instituted in the United States, from the beginning of it, about the same time. It still exists as a corporation, and has no schools, but distributes the income of

† In the establishment of the Dispensary and of the Prison Society he took a prominent part.

ducting the affairs of all of them, so situated as to be within his reach, he constantly and zealously bestowed his active aid, and the benefit of his wisdom and experience.

Dangers, threatening his own health or safety, never deterred him from the faithful performance of duty. To trials of that kind, alarming in their character, he was frequently exposed; but they served only to manifest his firm and inflexible adherence to it.*

Besides numerous applications for advice, on cases occurring in other dioceses as well as his own, he was very frequently consulted by individuals on doubts and difficulties of a religious nature, and solicited for advice and direction in special situations. Many such were from entire strangers, and not a few anonymous, pointing out a method of conveying the answer. He thought it a duty, in every instance, to reply to them; lest he might lose any probable opportunity of promoting the influence of religion. A very few only are of sufficient importance and interest for publication: and those are inserted in the Appendix.†

As a preacher, the Bishop's talents and manner were not of a popular character. Yet he was much

its funds among the more modern schools. The same in the Provident Society, from the beginning of it, in 1824.

". . . . The different religious societies, of which I am the principal officer . . . . . are as follows. The Philadelphia Bible Society, instituted in 1808; the earliest bible society in the United States. The Society for the Deaf and Dumb, instituted in 1820. All the others are especially connected with the Episcopal Church."

* *Ante*, pp. 158—160. † Appendix, No. XI.

esteemed for his judicious and solid instructions, both in doctrine and morality. And these came from him with great weight and influence, in consequence of his own example exhibiting the truth and efficacy of the principles which he inculcated, and of the reverence and affection felt for him. His discourses, in their general tenor, were calm, serious and argumentative. But often his thoughts were impressive and elevated, and expressed with great beauty, and even eloquence. On that class of religious subjects which were most congenial with his own feelings and dispositions, particularly on the character of the Deity—on the hopes, the consolations, the promises of the Gospel—and on Christian morals, sustained by Christian motives—on all of which he especially delighted frequently to dwell, without neglecting a proper attention to other parts of the Christian system, his discourses were written with an unction, and delivered with a persuasive earnestness and impressiveness of tone and manner, produced by his own deep felt interest in the subject, which made them both pleasing and edifying to his hearers. That his ministrations were acceptable and efficient, is proved by the enlargement of his flock, demanding an additional church for the accommodation of the parish under his pastoral charge. In his delivery he was dignified, but without much animation, and entirely without action: the last of which he thought should not be attempted by any to whom it was not natural. Until advanced in life, he possessed a clear, fine-toned and sufficiently

powerful voice, and a distinct enunciation, though too rapid; a fault which he found it difficult to correct He sometimes remarked on it himself. The following anecdote was furnished to me by a gentleman to whom it had been related by the Bishop. Bishop Jarvis, of Connecticut, was noted for an unusually slow and deliberate pronunciation. He had repeatedly requested Dr White to inform him of any defects or improprieties which he might observe in his delivery or reading, that they might be corrected. With that view, Dr White availed himself of a favourable opportunity, afforded by Dr Jarvis's performing family worship on an occasion while an inmate in his house. to mention, when they were alone together, the opposite remarks made on their respective modes of reading; and added, that he had been thinking that if they could be mixed up together, they might be made two very clever fellows in that respect. This may be taken as one specimen of his manner of giving advice or caution without offence, or appearing to assume any superiority.

Dr White's discourses were composed with care, and attentive consideration of the subjects selected. And it was his practice to review and correct them. when used on another occasion, and even often to re-write them, with the advantage of more full examination and reflection. They contain, therefore, his matured and well considered opinions. Eight or nine years before his decease, as appears from a letter of his to a gentleman who seems to have requested one or

more sermons for publication in a work edited by him (a copy of which remains among his papers), dated the 8th of March 1831, he destroyed "a great proportion" of the sermons which he had written.

It has been before stated that his principles and conduct towards the members of other religious denominations were tolerant and liberal, though he was, at the same time, strongly attached, from conviction, to his own church, and firm in maintaining her principles and promoting her welfare, and also in supporting the just claims of what he deemed to be the truth. Yet he did not approve of uniting with them in the execution of plans for religious improvement; being convinced that such a course was unwise, and that, far from tending to secure harmony and Christian charity, it had the opposite effect of exciting and increasing dissension and ill-will. The only exception which he allowed was the Bible Society, in the object of which all Christians could unite. He therefore became, and continued during his life, president of the Philadelphia Bible Society, the first which was formed in the United States. But his approbation and support of *this* would, as he often declared, have been withdrawn had the society not continued to adhere, in spirit as well as letter, to the principle on which it had been instituted—the distribution of the Scriptures without note or comment. This whole subject appeared to him of so great importance that he thought it proper to leave his opinions on it re-

corded in the journals of the Pennsylvania Diocesan Convention; and therefore inserted them, by way of advice and caution, in his annual address to that body in the year 1822.* They are as follows:

"There is a subject on which your Bishop wishes to record his opinion, matured by the long experience of his ministry, and acted on by him, as he thinks, to the advantage of the Church. It is the conduct becoming us towards those of our fellow Christians who are severed from us by diversity of worship or of discipline; and in some instances, by material contrariety on points of doctrine.

"The conduct to be recommended is to treat every denomination, in their character as a body, with respect; and the individuals composing it with degrees of respect, or of esteem, or of affection, in proportion to the ideas entertained of their respective merits; and to avoid all intermixture of administrations in what concerns the faith, or the worship, or the discipline of the church.

"On the conduct to be observed toward every denomination it is not intended to recommend silence concerning any religious truth, from the mistaken delicacy of avoiding offence to opposing error; nor to censure the exposing of the error, if it be done in a Christian spirit, and in accommodation to time and place. To take offence at this is to manifest the

* Some remarks on the same subject are contained in his letters to Bishop Hobart, inserted in the Appendix.

spirit of persecution, under circumstances which have happily disarmed it of power. But when, instead of argument, or in designed aid of it, there is resort to misrepresentation and abuse; or, when the supposed consequences of an opinion are charged as the admitted sentiments of the maintainer of it: these are weapons as much at the service of error as at that of truth; are the oftenest resorted to by the former; and are calculated to act on intelligent and ingenuous minds as reason of distrust of any cause in which they may be employed.

"It is no small aggravation of the evil that it tends to retard the time, which we trust will at last be brought about by the providence of God, when, in consequence of friendly communications arising out of the ordinary intercourses and charities of life, there will be such an approximation of religious societies in whatever can be thought essential to communion, as that they shall 'with one heart and one mouth glorify God.' For, to those who have attended to the first workings of what has ended in the divisions and subdivisions among Christian people, it must have been evident, at least in the greater number of instances, that with diversity of sentiment there might have continued the 'unity of the spirit in the bond of peace,' had it not been for the intrusion of personal injury or provocation, the effects of passion or of interfering interests, which have sometimes insensibly induced the persuasion of service done to the cause of

God, when, in fact, human views had a dominant share in determining the conduct.

"There has been referred to, in favour of the point sustained, the danger of exciting and increasing unfriendly feelings between differing denominations. It is on this principle, although there are other considerations tending to the same effect, that your Bishop has resisted all endeavours for an intermixture of administrations in what concerns the faith, or the worship, or the discipline of the church. In every known instance, in which it has proceeded from the usurpation of authority by individuals, it has been productive of conflicting opinion, and of needless controversy. On some occasions our institutions have been treated with disrespect, and doctrines unknown in them have been taught within our walls. There have even been advanced claims of rights to what was granted as temporary indulgence; and thus our property in religious houses has been rendered insecure: all under the notion of liberality and Christian union. It would be painful to have it supposed that any reference is here had to the many respectable ministers of other denominations whose characters are in contrariety to the offences stated. Of the intrusion of such men there is no apprehension entertained at present: and if the door should hereafter be thrown open, the most forward to enter it would be persons of the most moderate pretensions in talent and in acquirement.

"It is confidently believed that what is now said would not be offensive to the more respectable and

prominent persons, whether clerical or lay, in the concerns of other religious societies; who would probably concur in the declaration that the contrary assumption, when carried into effect, in opposition to the governing authority in any religious denomination, is the intolerance which, in former ages, pursued its designs by penal laws; but is now reduced to the necessity of making hollow professions of fraternity: the object being the same, with difference only in the means. By any among ourselves favouring such designs, for what they may conceive to be a righteous end, it should be considered, that, however commendable the being 'zealously affected,' there is the qualification of 'a good thing;' and that there can be no goodness in what is contrary to modesty, and tends to unnecessary controversy and division: for, if the attempted intermixture should be accomplished, there must be the severance of those who would 'seek the old paths,' not without sensibility to the hindrances opposed to the 'walking in them.' Thus there would be an increase of division growing out of what had been professedly undertaken for the healing of it.

"It is difficult to be on the present subject without giving occasion to the injurious charge of bigoted attachment to our communion: to guard against which, consistently with the acknowledgement of decided preference, it may be expedient to be more particular.

"Our church calls herself Episcopal. She affirms episcopacy to rest on Scriptural institution, and to

have subsisted from the beginning. On the varying governments of other societies she pronounces no judgment. The question is, not whether we think correctly, but whether we are to be tolerated in what we think. If this be determined in the affirmative, we must, to be consistent, interdict all other than an Episcopalian ministry within our bounds.

"Again, our church is decidedly in favour of a form of prayer, believing it to be sanctioned by divine ordainment under the law; by the attendance of our Saviour and of his apostles on composed forms in the synagogues and in the temple; and by indications of their being in use in the primitive church. We do not judge harshly of the public prayers of our fellow Christians; but we allege that, among ourselves, the people are not to be dependent on the occasional feelings, or the discretion, or the degree of cultivation of an officiating minister. With such views, it is contrary to what we owe to the edification of the people, were we to give way to the introduction of the latter species of devotion.

"Once more. That our Church teaches the doctrines of grace, and holds them to be of paramount importance, is obvious to all. Man's utter want of righteousness by nature; his absolute incapacity of merit, whether in the state of nature or in that of grace; his being under the government of passions impelling to sin, any further than as counteracted by principles derived from grace; the agency of the Holy Spirit in this, going before, that he may have a

good will, and working with him in the exercise of it; and, finally, the meritorious ground of all benefit, in the propitiatory offering of the Redeemer, are not only affirmed in our institutions but pervade them. We rejoice so far as any of our fellow Christians consent with us in acknowledging the said essential truths of Scripture. But in some public confessions we think we find embodied with those truths dogmas neither revealed in Scripture nor deducible from its contents; and, in some instances, contradicting what our Church explicitly teaches. The introducing of such matter among ourselves is what we cannot countenance; and introduced it would be, under the intermixture here objected to. Of this we have had instances, where an alien agency has been obtruded; and, if it should be countenanced, the consequences would be in the greatest degree injurious.

"If, after all, there should be a leaning in any mind to the plausible plea of liberality, let there be an appeal to the fact, which will bear a strict investigation, that every proposal to the purpose, when explained, amounts to the surrendering of one or of another of our institutions, without conformity to them in any instance.

"Brethren, it is fit that there should be explicitly declared the motive for the present expression of opinion. It has been confidently acted on by the deliverer of it, in alliance with esteem for worth, in whatever individual or body of men it was discerned to reside. It cannot be expected that he will continue

much longer to sustain any of his opinions either by argument or by example. He hopes that they who may be expected to survive him entertain similar views of what the exigences and even the existence of our Church require. But, lest an effort to the contrary should hereafter be made by any, he wishes to oppose to it, and to leave behind him his premonition; and to attach to it whatever weight, if there should be any, may be thought due to his long experience and observation. Under this impression he has made it a part of his official address, to appear, for the purpose stated, on your journal."

I am unwilling to close this imperfect sketch of Dr White's character without adding the just and beautiful encomium, pronounced a short time before his last illness, in the conclusion of an address, delivered by Bishop Bowen of South Carolina, at the commencement in the General Theological Seminary in June 1836. To its correctness the general voice of the Church gave its approving testimony.

"My friends, I have, I know, detained your attention too long not to have wearied it. My apology must be the want of *opportunity and time to prepare to say less.* In the qualifications essential to the ministry of Christ, and where you are to be called to exercise it, there is, I perfectly know, a theme on which, in far less space, you might have had much more addressed to you than on this occasion has been. Gladly would I have had some other perform the duty which, it seemed to me, that I could not waive. Espe-

cially could I have rejoiced if the venerable and holy man to whom it has always been desirable to assign the duty of uttering the counsel proper for this occasion, could have been permitted once more, from the abundance of his unexampled wisdom and experience, to have left upon your memory the inestimable lessons he has been wont to deliver. The infirmity of almost fourscore years and ten may well demand our acquiescence in the necessity of his absence from us, and in his probable inability to instruct the church, in this place, any more for ever Never, however, will he cease to instruct her, through the recorded counsels he has given her, and the memory of an example than which, since the last of the apostles, none wiser, purer, holier has been known. Look, my friends, to this greatest and best earthly exemplar to which we can point you. Study his counsels, and emulate his faithfulness, his purity, his *singleness of heart*, his religious magnanimity, his unweariedness in doing good, his charity towards all men. Intellectually, spiritually, practically, we can bid you advert to none more worthy of your fond and admiring imitation. And, brethren in the ministry of our household of apostolic faith, from the highest to the lowest, whatever our degree or rank in its service, may we all 'remember him who so long has had rule over us, and has spoken to us the word of God, following his faith, and considering the end of his conversation, JESUS CHRIST, the same yesterday, and to-day and for ever.' "

Of the Bishop's theological opinions it is not designed to enter into a particular detail or examination. It would be too extensive an undertaking for the purpose of this memoir. They may be best drawn from his own works; in which they are at large exhibited in the manner which he himself preferred. His sentiments on the great and fundamental principles of the Christian system may be more clearly and satisfactorily discerned from his sermons than from his controversial writings; for in them he has stated those sentiments more fully and impressively, and with a view to their practical influence; while in the others, being led to consider and present them only as they were connected with the controversies examined, and for the purpose of maintaining correctness of doctrine, they are not treated with as much fulness, or in language expressive of so strong persuasion of their high importance, or of so much sensibility to their influence on the conscience and affections. It is, however, only justice to him to remark their truly evangelical character. With respect to the actual depraved condition of the human race; the cause of it, in the apostacy of their first parents; their utter inability to recover themselves from it; their universal and strong natural propensity to sin; the humiliation incumbent on them, both on that account and for their actual transgressions; the design of the Gospel to effect their pardon, and their restoration to holiness of heart and life; the means provided for those great purposes in the atonement made by the Redeemer, and in the

gracious influences and aids of the holy spirit; the necessity, sufficiency and efficacy of those means; our salvation by the free grace of God, through faith in the merits and sacrifice of Christ, to the entire exclusion of any merit of our own: all these leading and characteristic principles of the Gospel were uniformly maintained by him, and inculcated with a frequency, earnestness and impressiveness which prove his persuasion of their truth and importance, their salutary and transforming influence on the understanding and heart, and his own sensibility to their effect on himself.

I am aware that with regard to the theory (as it may be called) which he adopted to explain the effects produced by Adam's fall upon the condition of his descendants, and which is most fully detailed and illustrated in his four lectures on the three-fold state of man, and in his Comparative Views of the Calvinistic and Arminian controversy, strong objections will be felt and expressed by many able, learned and sincere Christians. But on that subject the Christian world has been long divided; and there is little prospect yet of a general union of sentiment. The Scriptures have given no explicit determination on it; and it rests therefore only on inferences drawn by human reasoning from the facts and principles contained in them. Difference of opinion on it should not be allowed to affect Christian feeling; much less will it justify or excuse harsh censure. And whatever may be thought of his theory, the defects of it, even if any

defects exist, have certainly not led him to adopt unevangelical opinions on the actual condition of man by nature, and the mode of his recovery from it, and advancement to happiness and immortality.

That he spoke with feeling, as well as correctness, on the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel, will be readily perceived from his sermons,* particularly those designed for the season of lent. And that they were very frequently introduced into his instructions to his flock will be evident from the same source.

In the Christian Observer for September 1836, it is asserted that there was a change in Dr White's views, on the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel; for that, towards the close of his life, he became more attached to evangelical principles, and inculcated them more correctly, frequently and earnestly. A remark similar to it has been occasionally heard from a few individuals here. But I can discover no proof of such a change in opinion or method of instruction. It is well known that the remark was sometimes made in relation to sermons which had been before delivered by him—in some cases many years previously—which had not, however, then produced the same effect which they did on the subsequent occasions, or it had been forgotten. Probably the deeper impression was caused by a difference in the state of mind or heart, in the degree of knowledge of the subject, or

* Among them I would refer to the following, among his sermons arranged for publication: No. XXXI., "Of the Faithful and Acceptable Saying," in 1 Tim. i. 15; No. LVI., "Of the Christian Warfare," Eph. vi. 11; No. LXXXIV., "Of the Need of the Physician," Mark ii. 17.

even in the attention of the hearers themselves. I have attended his church from childhood; and, so far as my own recollection enables me to judge, I know no other ground for the assertion. The sermons selected for the proposed volumes of his Posthumous Works, were written and preached in various and distant periods of his life; but it is believed that they would not be found, on the most careful comparison, to indicate any material change in his theological views, or in the faithfulness with which he taught the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel.

The Works of Bishop White, both published and in manuscript, are voluminous. A Catalogue of those published in his lifetime; of those left in manuscript, and selected for publication in the proposed volumes of his Posthumous Works; and of the others in manuscript, is here inserted. It is compiled almost entirely from lists left by himself, and therefore the correctness of it may be relied on.

I. THOSE PUBLISHED DURING HIS LIFE.

1. The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered. A pamphlet published in 1782.—Three letters,* signed "An Episcopalian,"

* In a catalogue published in the Protestant Episcopalian, vol. 5, p. 33, only *two* are mentioned. But *three* were published: the originals of which, sent to Bishop Hobart for publication, are now in my possession.

were published by Dr White in the Albany Centinel, in the summer of 1805, in reply to the author of a series of essays inserted in the same paper, entitled "Miscellanies," who cited the pamphlet incorrectly: and they are contained in "A Collection of the Essays on the Subject of Episcopacy which originally appeared in the Albany Centinel;" published by T. & J. Swords, New York, 1806.

2. Lectures on the Catechism of the Protestant Episcopal Church: with Supplementary Lectures; one on the Ministry, the other on the Public Service: and Dissertations on Select Subjects in the Lectures.—One vol. 8vo. Philadelphia, Bradford & Inskeep, 1813. With additions, *in manuscript.*

3. Comparative Views of the Controversy between the Calvinists and the Arminians.—Two vols, 8vo. Philadelphia, M. Thomas, 1817.

4. Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. One vol., 8vo. Philadelphia, S. Potter & Co., 1820.—Second edition, continuing the History to the year 1835. One vol., 8vo. New York, Swords, Stanford & Co., 1836.

5. A Commentary on the Questions in the Offices for the Ordaining of Priests and Deacons; and a Commentary on the Duties of the Public Ministry. These were first published in the "Quarterly Theological Magazine and Religious Repository," for 1813 and 1814; and afterwards in one volume, 8vo, by T. and J. Swords, New York, 1833.

6. Twenty-four Sermons on different occasions,

from A.D. 1784 to A.D. 1833. Collected and proposed to be republished in connection with his posthumous works.

7. Five Episcopal Charges, in 1807, 1825, 1831, 1832 and 1834. Collected and proposed to be republished with the said works.

8. Five Addresses to the Trustees, Professors and Students of the General Theological Seminary, in 1822, 1824, 1827, 1828 and 1829. Published in pamphlets.

9. Ten Pastoral Letters of the House of Bishops, from 1808 to 1835 inclusive. On these the Bishop remarks, in one of the lists left by him, "As these letters, although in the name of the house, were known to have been written by me, and currently spoken of with that circumstance attached to them; and as, on that account, I may be thought especially responsible for the sentiments expressed, I have thought that it comes under the principle of these entries to take the present notice of them. The notoriety referred to does not attach to the various addresses penned by me for institutions in which I have presided: but the responsibility for which may therefore be committed to the bodies which respectively adopted them."

10. An Essay containing Objections against the Position of a Personal Assurance of the Pardon of Sin, by a Direct Communication of the Holy Spirit. First published in the Christian Register, New York, 1816; and afterwards in pamphlet form, with notes, occasioned by a pamphlet containing remarks on the

essay, under the name of "A Reply." Philadelphia, 1817. Also Replies to two Reviews of the same.

11. Miscellaneous Essays, &c., published in various periodicals or in pamphlets:—

An Essay noticing some errors in the Ecclesiastical History of Dr Lawrence Mosheim; in the Notes of Dr Archibald Maclain on the same; and in the History of the Puritans by Daniel Neal.—Christian Journal, April and May 1818. With an Appendix *in manuscript.*

An Essay on Religious Societies and Prayer Meetings.—Christian Journal, 1819.

An Essay concerning a Pretended Imitation of the "Kiss of Charity," spoken of in Rom. xvi. 16, and four other places of Scripture: Designed especially for the perusal of Students in Theology.—Christian Journal, February 1819.

Vindication of Archbishop Secker.—Episcopal Magazine, April 1820.

A Catechism on the Constitution of the Christian Church, its Ministries and its Services, as maintained by the Protestant Episcopal Church.—Episcopal Magazine, May 1820.

An Essay on the Question of the Validity of Lay Baptism.—Episcopal Magazine, June 1820.

Two Essays designed especially for the perusal of Students in Theology. Essay I. On the Terms, Sacrifice, Altar and Priest; Essay II. On Certain Questions relative to the Eucharist.—Episcopal Magazine, January and February 1820.

Vindication of Bishop Seabury.—Christian Journal, January 1821.

Three smaller Tracts. 1. Remarks on Experiences, as a Subject of Ordinary Conversation and of Ecclesiastical Inquiry. 2. Remarks on the Phrase, "Vital Godliness." 3. Remarks on the Phrase, "the Hiding of God's Face."—Christian Journal, December 1819, January and February 1820.

Conversations of a Minister with a Parishioner, on Baptismal Regeneration.—Christian Journal, March, April, June and July 1822.

Answers to Philos.—Philadelphia Recorder, August and September 1823.

An Address delivered at laying the Corner Stone of the Building for the Deaf and Dumb, on the 15th of June 1824.—National Gazette, June 17, 1824.

An Address at laying the Corner Stone of the General Theological Seminary, New York, July 1825.—Newspapers of the day.

Defence of Bishop Hobart's Sermon in Rome.—Church Register, 7th of January 1826.

Remarks on the Commentary of the Reverend Thomas Scott.—Church Register, February 11, 18, 25 and April 29, 1826.

Of Primitive Facts explanatory of Scripture.—Church Register, January 21 and 28, 1826.

Concerning the Latin Translation of the Articles.—Church Register, April 15, 1826.

Of the Testimony of the Church to the Books of Scripture.—Church Register, March 18, 1826.

Of Bowing at the Name of Jesus.—Church Register, January 27, 1827.

An Opinion concerning the Will of Stephen Girard.—Poulson's American Daily Advertiser, January 26, 1832. (It is inserted in this Memoir, p. 234.)

An Opinion relative to a supposed case of Intended Marriage.—Pamphlet, October 1809.

An Address at the University of Pennsylvania, September 20, 1813, on the Introduction of Drs Beasley and Patterson.—United States Gazette, September 23, 1813.

An Address to the Female Bible Society.—Pamphlet, March 23, 1814.

An Address at the Consecration of Bishop Henry U. Onderdonk, October 25, 1827.

An Address at the Consecration of Bishop Benjamin T. Onderdonk, November 25, 1830.

Two Addresses to the Special Diocesan Convention in 1826. Published with the Journal and in pamphlet form. (They are in the Appendix, No. VIII.)

An Address at the laying of the Corner Stone of a Monument to General Washington, February 22, 1833.—Newspapers of the time.

Three Letters to the Editor of the American Quarterly Review, concerning an article in that work, on the subject of the Religious Observance of One Day in Seven, in connection with that of Sunday Mails.—Protestant Episcopalian, October 1830.

Address of the Clergy to General La Fayette.—Poulson's American Daily Advertiser, 1824.

An Address concerning the Greeks.—In the same paper, December 11, 1823.

An Address concerning the Cherokees, on the 11th of January 1830.—In the same paper, January 13, 1830. (Inserted in this memoir, p. 286.)

Considerations, expressed with brevity, in reference to the Institutions and Practices of the Episcopal Church; and addressed by the Pastor of Three Congregations to those of his Parishioners by whom they are entirely or in part disregarded.—Pamphlet.

Additional Instructions to the Missionaries to China.—Missionary Record, May 29, 1835. (Inserted in this memoir, p. 248.)

Thoughts on the Singing of Psalms and Anthems in Churches.—Pamphlet, 1808, signed "Silas."—Reprinted in Christian Journal for May and June 1808, and afterwards by Mr Armal of Germantown.

A Prayer and Address at the Opening of the Hall of the Washington Benevolent Society, October 1816; included in their printed statement.

A Commentary on all the Passages in the New Testament relative to the Ministry.—Published, to the end of the First Epistle to Timothy, in the Episcopal Magazine for 1820 and 1821; the rest *in manuscript*. (The Commentary has been selected to be published complete in one of the proposed volumes of his Posthumous Works.)

Additions inserted in Samuel F. Bradford's edition of Rees's Cyclopœdia; in the two half volumes from A to K, and from N to end.

Answer to an Attack in "the Aurora," concerning

the Mitre on the Steeple of Christ Church. Printed before the decease of B. F. Bache.

A Narrative concerning Lieutenant Asgill.—Museum of June 1835.

An Address and Form of Prayer on occasion of the decease of the Honourable John Marshall. (See the Appendix, No. V.)

Preface to the Sermons of the Reverend William Smith, D.D., who died while his sermons were in press.

A Conversation on the subject of Original Sin.—Protestant Episcopalian, vol. 2, pp. 151 and 231.

Succession of the English Episcopacy from the Greek Church.—In the same, p. 307.

Notices of certain Periods in the Ecclesiastical History of England; designed for Students in Theology.—In the same, pp. 423 and 447.

Defence of the Measure of the House of Bishops in 1801, on the question of consecrating a Bishop for the Diocese of New York.—In the same, vol. 3, p. 68.

Of the Effect of the Proceedings of the Council of Trent on the Question of the Episcopacy.—In the same, p. 93.

Essay on the Infallibility claimed by the Roman Catholic Church: designed for the perusal of young persons under an incipient danger of seduction to the Roman Catholic Church.—In the same, p. 416.

An Argument in favour of Divine Revelation, from the fact that it is the only Source of the Knowledge of God, now or ever in the Possession of Mankind.—In the same, vol. 4, p. 249.—Appendix thereto, p. 456.

Expositions of certain Passages of Scripture, often quoted for the Increase of Piety, but with such misinterpretations as tend to an Opposite result; with an Appendix.—In the same, p. 387.

Extension of the Principle of Bishop Henry U. Onderdonk's Charge on the Rule of Faith, in 1833.—In the same, p. 417; continued in vol. 5, pp. 217, 256, 299, 330, 416 and 449; see also vol. 6, pp. 29, 113.

An Argument against Roman Catholicism, from there being no Evidence of its Pretensions, either in those passages of Holy Scripture, or in those records of Primitive Antiquity, in which, if valid, they would naturally be expected.—In the same, vol. 6, p. 294.

On the Division of Dioceses.—In the same, p. 327.

Essay on the Use of the word "Priest" in the Institutions of the Episcopal Church.—In the same, p. 413.

[N.B. All the particulars contained in this 11th No. are taken from a list in the hand-writing of the Bishop, concluding with these words: "The productions noticed in this paper are, to the best of my recollection, all published by me to the end of 1835." The manuscript is stated to have "had for its object the guarding against there being hereafter exhibited, as published by the author, any production which was not his." Three, certainly his, were however inadvertently omitted; which, with those published after 1835, are subjoined.]

A Caution against the Misrepresentations in a Late Work, entitled, "Travels of an Irish Gentleman in

Search of a Religion."—Protestant Episcopalian, vol 4, pp. 466; see vol. 5, p. 35, in which it is inserted in the Catalogue by himself.

An Essay on Variety in Prayer.—In the same, vol. 6, p. 130.

Address and Prayer at the Centennial Celebration of the Birth of General Washington.—Poulson's American Daily Advertiser, February 22, 1832; see Catalogue in Protestant Episcopalian, vol. 5, p. 34.

A Doubt concerning the Usual Interpretations of Revelations xiv. 6, 7.—Protestant Episcopalian, vol. 7, p. 74.

A Dialogue between a Protestant and a Roman Catholic, concerning the Name of the Church of the latter.—In the same, p. 99.

A Dialogue between a Protestant and a Roman Catholic, concerning certain Attributes, claimed as characteristic of the Church of the latter: with an Appendix.—In the same, p. 133.

An Essay on Wandering of the Mind in Prayer.—In the same, p. 274 (inserted in the Appendix, No. X.).

II SELECTED MANUSCRIPTS, FOR PUBLICATION IN THE PROPOSED VOLUMES OF HIS POSTHUMOUS WORKS.

1. Four Lectures, additional to those on the Catechism, on the Threefold State of Man.

2. A Short Essay on the Analogy of the Understanding and the Will: annexed to those Lectures.

3. One Hundred and Sixty-One Selected Sermons.

4. A Commentary on all the Passages in the New

Testament, relative to the Ministry.—(Partly published before; see *ante*, p. 311.)

5. A Counter Apology for the Divinity of the Holy Scriptures, in a Review of the Apology of Robert Barclay on the same Subject: with Notice of some Passages in the Work of Thomas Clarkson, A. M., entitled "The Portraiture of Quakerism;" and an Appendix, containing an Account of the Controversy between Charles Leslie and Joseph Wyeth. In three volumes.*

* It appears from the preface, dated June 10, 1815, that the first suggestion of this work in Bishop White's mind, was in the year 1805, when it was begun. After some progress was made in it, it was laid aside for several years. In the year 1810 it was resumed, and completed during that and the succeeding year. A memorandum attached to the MS., and dated July 17, 1826, shows that the work was re-perused at that time by the Author, without his "finding any reason to change his opinions." It was again revised in 1833, and the following memorandum, dated October 18, 1833, inserted in the MS.

"On a re-perusal of the Counter Apology, I see no cause to withdraw any of the arguments contained in it. Whether it will ever be published, is uncertain: but I believe that it would tend to the upholding of the truths of our holy religion; first, by showing the danger of a theory, which, by affirming an imaginary light of nature, under an imposing but misapplied name, leads to deism; and, secondly, by distinguishing between Christian duty and requisitions foreign to it; representing them, to young persons especially, as equally obligatory; and thus preparing their ripening understandings for an equal disregard of both.

"Perhaps it may be expected of the Author to declare his opinion on the breach, which, since the penning of these volumes, has been made in the society called Quakers. They have divided on three points, which have been lately under the cognizance of the supreme court of New Jersey. As these three points have been perseveringly contended for by the society, it is conceded that the court was correct in their decision on the grounds on which it was rested; and which were pressed by counsel, on the part of those called the Orthodox. It is not to be denied, how-

6. Correspondence with Mr Charles Miller, of Boston, relative to King's Chapel. (In the Appendix, No. II.)

7. Address on Building a New Church, in 1806.—Ibid., No. VI.

8. A Projected Report on the Table of Kindred and Affinity.—Ibid., No. III.

9. Autobiography.—See *ante*, pp. 10 to 12.

10. Cautionary Letters to a Young Lady, by her Pastor, in reference to the Danger of being drawn

ever, that if we look back to times antecedent to those of Robert Barclay and William Penn, there are imprudent sayings of some of the preachers, recited in this work, favouring the pretensions of those styled "The Hicksites." But such sayings ought not to countervail the more deliberate and the uninterrupted profession of the society.

"The Hicksites, it is said, complain of persecution, on the ground of an alleged majority deprived of the occupancy of a building. The decision of the court is not extended to conscience, or to the profession of its dictates. These do not reach to the occupancy of a building; which must be held under the law of the land; like the tenure of property held by any individual. But it would be persecution, in this country, to deny to any association of men the privilege of possessing a building for the worship of God according to the dictates of their consciences, under the general profession of Christianity; and exclusively of all tenets contrary to the terms of the association; exclusively, also, of those who may depart from the same, whether they may be few or many. A court is not to judge of the truth of the doctrines in favour either of one side or of the other; but is to ground its decision upon the fact of their being held.

"In one respect, however, there is persecution inflicted on both of the descriptions of persons implicated. It is the exacting of militia fines in such a way as gives license to harpies, to the encouragement of oppression, and with injury to the public morals. The evil might easily be remedied, by a law which would not occasion any loss to the revenue raised for the military service."

into the Communion of the Roman Catholic Church. —In the Appendix, No. XI.

III. OTHER WORKS IN MANUSCRIPT.

Seventy-Nine Sermons.

An Essay on High Church Principles: with an Appendix.

A Conversation between a Minister of the Gospel and one of his Parishioners, on the Subject of Conversion.

Conversations of a Minister with a Parishioner, on the Subject of Amusements.

Opinion concerning the Theatre.

Two Remarkable Facts, having a bearing on the Calvinistic Doctrine of a Natural Hatred of God.

Proposed Alterations in the Book of Common Prayer, in the Articles, and in the Ordinal; to be submitted in the event of a Review.—1826 and 1831.

Two Remarks concerning the Homilies.

A Thought concerning our Prospects of the Future Fate of the Liturgy.

Doubts concerning the Usual Interpretation of Certain Passages in the Book of Revelation.

An Essay explaining and applying Matthew xvi. 6, "Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy."

On the Question concerning the Ending of the Old Century, and the Beginning of the New.

Remarks suggested by the Perusal of Cuvier's Theory of the Earth.

An Address delivered at the Opening of the New Christ Church Hospital, April 1819.

Remarks on a Narrative of a Death Bed Scene.

Remarks on a Publication in the Recorder, in which it is affirmed that even the Words of Holy Scripture are dictated by Inspiration.

Remarks on Rev. Henry M. Mason's Convention Sermon, in 1834.

Form of Prayer used at the Commencement in the University, in July 1834.

Prayer at the House of Refuge.

A small Volume of Prayers used at Meetings of Various Societies, and on other Special Occasions.

Letter to Dr Caspar Morris, concerning Non-Episcopalian Baptism.

Letter to Dr Montgomery, on the Question of Imputation.

An Opinion on the Question of Allowable Latitude in the use of the Book of Common Prayer: especially intended with reference to Missionaries.

An Opinion delivered at a Meeting of the Trustees of the University, September 28, 1835.

Letter to Joseph R. Ingersoll, Esq., with the Return of Lord Brougham's "Discourse on Natural Theology;" October 21, 1835.

An Expression of Doubt concerning the Expediency of Temperance Societies.

[These, except the small volume of Prayers, are inserted in a List left by the Bishop.]

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

I.

(Page 57 ante, in note.)

LETTER TO THE REV. HENRY V. D. JOHNS.

Philadelphia, December 29, 1830.

Reverend and Dear Sir,

I duly received your letter of the 17th instant; but owing partly to the duties of the season, and partly to the shortness of the days, not balanced by the length of the evenings owing to the weakness of my eyes, I have delayed every concern not necessarily demanding immediate attention.

The prejudice encountered by you, exacting variety in your daily prayers before the congress, is what I have not a particle of regard to; and I believe of the states of mind suggesting it, that they are not altogether the same with those which possessed our Saviour and his apostles in their attendance on the daily service of the temple, and on the weekly worship; in which were continually repeated certain prayers, still extant in the Jewish Mishna. To go further back: was it ever known of devout Jews, that they objected to the sameness of the annual expressions of gratitude prescribed to them in Deuteronomy, xxvi. 1—10? or, while in the wilderness, to the daily repetitions recorded in Numbers, x. 35 and 36. It is probable that in the estimation of those who delight in variety in this matter, it would be acceptable only in proportion as it should take the shape of declamation; which is a well known property of some public prayers, although not of those of our church.

Although the dictates of divine wisdom ought to be sufficient in this matter, yet it may not be amiss to remark the ground of them in human nature. Addresses designed for instruction or for persuasion, derive advantage from a reasonable measure of variety; but as for compositions which are to be expressive of our feelings, words which have often excited in us a certain species of sensibility are more likely than any other words to produce the same effect by repetitions. The principle might be illustrated in the effects of various species of composition, from the

most exalted strains of doxology to those popular ballads which interest the popular mind. If the object be the display of the eloquence of a public speaker, it is another matter.

In regard to what you inquire concerning your officiating in the public hall on Sundays; it is new to me that any service is required of the chaplain of either house except when they are constitutionally assembled. When I have officiated where the attendants could not be supposed acquainted with our services, as in the jail and in the bettering house of this city, and sometimes before unorganized congregations in the country, I have not scrupled to omit the responsive portions, in order to avoid an incongruity which would be a disparagement of the services. But in a stated exercise I should hold myself bound to do all in my power to obtain the aid of at least a few to make the responses; so important do I deem that feature in our institutions, which invites the vocal concurrence of the people in the exercises of prayer and praise. How far, in your case, necessity requires the dispensing with what would stamp our service with impropriety, I submit to your discretion, so far as my solicited opinion is concerned, to determine. But I put a bar to the perverting of an apparent necessity to the imitating of so many of our fellow Christians, in their depriving of the people of the primitive right of joining vocally in the prayers. Even the moderate privilege of an Amen is taken away from them, notwithstanding the sanction given to it by St Paul in 1 Cor. xiv. 16: the substitute for which is the solitary Amen of the minister; and of this I am sorry occasionally to witness an imitation in some of the clergy of our church.

My practice, in the presence of each house of congress, was in the following series: the Lord's prayer; the collect for Ash Wednesday; that for peace; that for grace; the prayer for the President of the United States; the prayer for Congress; the prayer for all conditions of men; the general thanksgiving; St Chrysostom's prayer; the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.

That in this matter, and in every other, you may be so guided as to satisfy your own conscience, and advance the glory of God, is the wish and the prayer of your affectionate brother,

WM WHITE.

II.

(Page 104 ante.)

CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR CHARLES MILLER.

These documents are thus endorsed by Dr White: "Copies of two letters to Mr Charles Miller of Boston, occasioned by his sending to me the prayer book of the society meeting in what had been called King's Chapel. The book was sent soon after the general convention of 1785. I supposed at the time, and the supposition was justified by circumstances, that the step was taken by the principal agents in what I consider as a most unjustifiable transaction—the wresting of a place of worship from the Episcopal Church. It happened, as I understood, thus. Many of the members of the congregation had gone to Nova Scotia and elsewhere, from disaffection to the American cause. Their pews were let to persons, sundry of whom had never professed themselves of the church; to the members of which they had no other affinity in principle than what consisted in dissatisfaction with the system then generally preached in Boston. Thus a majority was produced, to whom were sacrificed the rights of the real members of the Episcopal Church. The remembrance of the manœuvre should be perpetuated, for the guarding against the like in future. W. W."

Boston, November 12, 1785.

Reverend Sir:

I take the liberty to present you with a reformed liturgy, which is used in the first Episcopal church in this town (at which I attend); and ask the favour of your acceptance thereof.

After you have examined the book, I should be exceedingly happy in having your opinion on the same; and if there are any errors crept in, that you would be so kind as to point them out, which I shall receive with pleasure.

You will please to excuse the freedom I have taken in writing to you without any acquaintance or introduction. I have requested my friend, Mr Anthony, to deliver the book in person. I have the honour to be, reverend sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Reverend Mr White. CHARLES MILLER.

December 1, 1785.

Sir,

I received from the hands of Captain Anthony your obliging present

of the prayer book, together with your polite letter; for both of which I request you to accept of my grateful acknowledgements.

As you have invited my opinion of that performance, I think it my duty to comply. As it is honestly given, I hope it will be charitably received; and that my presuming to object will not be thought to proceed from my taking a pleasure in doing so.

There are certain general principles, sir, without the observance of which no religious communion can be permanently maintained. I shall mention but one: connecting it with its application to the present situation of the Episcopal Church. It is this—that as our several congregations were parts or members of the Church of England, and have been separated from her by a political revolution, we ought to keep in view the characteristics of that church, in the adapting of our system to our new situation. There is a certain part of her, to continue which would be inconsistent with our civil duties, to which those of revealed religion can never be in opposition. Farther, our Church, like all other independent societies, may make such improvements in her service as she thinks it admits of consistently with her known principles. But for some of us to depart from the leading principles of her system; or to make needful alterations, in such a manner as is inconsistent with the whole tenor of her ecclesiastical government; is, I conceive, not the way to relieve her from her present disjointed state. If we think the church essentially wrong in these matters, we have a happy resource in the glorious freedom of our country; which permits us either to join any other religious society or to found a new church, agreeably to our own ideas of the gospel plan.

On the preceding principle, I think your congregation will find it difficult to justify these two things: First, their leaving out every invocation of the Redeemer; and secondly, the making of the alterations of the liturgy a congregational act. The invoking of the Redeemer has been too conspicuous a part of our services to be set aside by some of us, consistently with any reasonable expectation of continuing of the same communion with the rest. For I think it is very improbable that those persons who believe Jesus Christ to have been *worshipped* by his immediate disciples, who are convinced that it was the badge of the first Christians that they *called on his name*, and who know that the being whom they have been accustomed to invoke the very angels are said to have *worshipped*, will join in communion with a church where the addressing of their Saviour is set aside; whether the motive be to stigmatize it as unchristian, or to accommodate the service to Arians and Socinians. If I am wrong in this suggestion, I should be happy to be corrected; but I was led to it by the circumstance that they who believe in Christ's divinity have held it to be too important, and too closely connected with other doctrines held essential, to permit an accommodation to the principles of the sects above mentioned.

Here give me leave to take notice of a sentence in the preface, which

has a strong tendency to mislead the reader; which I hope was not intended. It is that concerning the "Gloria Patri." Whenever that form may have been introduced as a doxology, for the completing of particular acts of worship; the giving of glory to the Lord and to the Holy Spirit was unquestionably of a much earlier date than the time of Pope Damasus; the contrary to which the preface insinuates: for otherwise, the time of its being introduced in that form could have been no reason for discontinuing it.

If the latter part of the suggestion be the object, your service is not yet accommodated to the principles of all the Socinians, many of whom deny there being any state of existence between death and the resurrection; and their modern leader, Dr Priestley, even looks on the doctrine, that there is such a substance or agent as the human soul, as one of the greatest corruptions of Christianity. However, I believe that any stranger to your society would presume that you have not accommodated in this instance.

On the subject of the worship of Jesus Christ, I avail myself of the veneration in which your society hold Dr S. Clarke, to refer you to his "Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity," p. 137, 8vo ed. You will read as many texts as fill several pages directly to this purpose; and let me request you seriously to consider whether, if those passages prove the point for which they were brought by Dr Clarke, any Christian ought to omit the duty. And I also request you to turn to his sermon "on the Power and Authority of Christ," (vol. 6, s. 4,) as a proof how far his tenets were from those of Arians and Socinians. Let me also refer you, in regard to both these subjects, to his paraphrase on the Evangelists, at the following places: St John, i.; xx. 28; St Luke, xxiv. 52; St Matthew, xxviii. 17. I cannot reconcile myself to the manner in which Dr Clarke's name has been made use of both by your society and Mr Lindsey: the professing to reform the liturgy according to his plan, when the deviation is so much greater than his system required, appearing to me not altogether just to the memory of a great and good man.*

I am not a friend to those metaphysical distinctions which have perplexed the present subject, and discredited divine truth. The invoking and worshipping of Jesus Christ was the practice of the church long before those subtleties were known, as you may be informed by many and clear passages in the anti-Nicene fathers.

Secondly, sir, I took the liberty to object to your making of your liturgy a congregational act; which is inconsistent with the whole tenor of the ecclesiastical government of the Church of England. Notwithstanding the liberal definition which the articles give of a visible church, I presume it will never be contended for as the meaning, that where there

* When afterwards in England, I saw Dr Clarke's prayer book, as altered by his own hand, in the British Museum. It did not materially differ from those of Mr Lindsey and the society in Boston.

are several neighbouring congregations, especially in the same city or town, they may, consistently with order and propriety, be left each to its congregational government. This would be foreign to every idea of Episcopal government; which supposes, let the authority of bishops be more or less, that the flock is under a diocesan, and not under a congregational discipline. But that this can be the case, and yet each congregation be left to model its liturgy, I cannot conceive possible. The articles you quote as to the rites and ceremonies, certainly never meant that they might be different in the same diocese; and I do not believe that history furnishes an instance of an Episcopal Church, in which the different congregations composing it, did not follow the same directory of worship. So fully am I in this sentiment, as to believe that in the case of perseverance in your present plan, you cannot long continue to profess yourselves Episcopalians, unless in a sense in which the word is not customarily used.

Hitherto, sir, I have rested my argument only on a general principle of ecclesiastical policy. But give me leave briefly to suggest, that should my apprehensions be well founded, of your society becoming either Arian or Socinian, or congregational in government, or both, I might rest my argument on moral obligation, in respect to the keeping of possession of the house heretofore known by the name of King's Chapel. Our churches, and other property belonging to them, were evidently bought and given as to component parts of a church, the great outlines of whose doctrine and government were well known. But for a majority of a congregation to destroy these, and so, of course, to compel the minority to give up their interest in the said property, in order to seek what they conceive to be the pure word of God, or a more Christian worship, elsewhere; is, I humbly apprehend, to deprive them of their just rights: whereas no injury is offered, in expecting a majority to relinquish an interest, if they can no longer comply with the terms on which it was given. I am the freer in expressing this sentiment, as it is said to be the ground on which a court and jury in this city, not long since, determined a controversy between two parties, concerning the possession of a house of worship. In the cause alluded to facts were much disputed, and I am not sufficiently master of them to give an opinion; but the principle is allowed by all to be wise and just.*

Let me, sir, entreat you to recollect how much more serviceable it will be to the common cause of Christianity, if we can accomplish a great and liberal plan for connecting in one system the members of our widely extended communion; rather than for every congregation to be in all respects self-governed: or, if this cannot be, that we may at least continue one in each state. I am amazed that the importance of this is not more seen, in relation to the guarding against the progress of a church

* There was subsequently a protest of the minority of the house called King's Chapel, against the wrong done to them.

as yet scarcely known in your country. When the church of Rome claims the subjection of all Christendom to St Peter's chair, the rise of her power is too well known for the pretension to have weight; but when she shall talk of the unity of the members of the church in the same neighbourhood or district, and of their being linked together under one common head, antiquity will be so much on her side, that I am afraid it will make many take the less exception to her erroneous doctrines. Of all the members of the Protestant body, the Church of England has been thought the strongest bulwark against her, from the circumstance of retaining more than others of those ancient institutions which were prior to her corruptions. I cannot bear the thought of our communion's losing in the new world what has been our glory in the old.

I will suggest another danger. Should any church hereafter avail itself of the having of its parts united, to establish itself on the ruins of others, what a feeble opposition will it meet from such societies as have not the same advantage! The danger alluded to arises from the frailties of human nature, and is not mentioned as a reflection on any; but we are to be aware, that every impediment thrown in the way of future ambitious zealots is an act, as well of good citizenship, as of religion.

I may, sir, have mistaken the principles of your society, not having received any account of them in the way of conversation or of correspondence. The notoriety of my having no personal prejudice to gratify in this matter, has emboldened me to be the more free in my observations; which, if they should seem to approach to rudeness, I request you to interpret more according to the intention than the expression: giving them the most inoffensive construction they will bear.

I request your acceptance of the journal of a late ecclesiastical convention, with all that the press affords of their prayer book; which I shall inclose to you from time to time as the sheets shall come out. Should our eastern brethren have any improvements to propose, the convention that is to meet in June will give them an impartial consideration, if the same disposition prevail as in the last.

Having written so freely of the affairs of a congregation in your town, and being acquainted with one clergyman resident there (the Reverend Mr Parker), I have thought it a point of delicacy to request his perusal of my letter before its being sealed and sent to you. I am, sir, with respect,

Your obliged and very humble servant,

Wm WHITE.

P.S. I purposely avoided, sir, saying any thing in my letter of some of the alterations in your liturgy which, in my eye, rendered the parts so altered less beautiful and affecting. But afterwards, when I considered how much we have always boasted of the superior excellency of our service in these respects, I determined to throw myself on your candour, with the following observations:

1st. I wonder at your turning of the absolution into a prayer; which appears to me not to come so properly in that place, as a recital of God's compassionate goodness to all those who have used the preceding confession in a proper temper of mind.

2d. Your doxology, however proper in substance, will bear the objection, that there seems the intention to enumerate the attributes of God; which, yet, is imperfectly done.

3d. In your prayer for Congress you have lost a beauty which pervades all the prayers of our Church—a correspondency between the attribute or appellation of God in the beginning and the body of the petition: for there seems no connection between the Almighty's being a king of kings and lord of lords, and a prayer for congress.

4th. In the "prayer for Christ's Church militant," the leaving out the word "Christian" before "rulers," seems to me to involve the impropriety that you pray for infidel rulers, should there be any, as members of the Christian church. We ought to pray for such rulers, but ought not to call them Christians.

5th. I cannot see any thing in your Catechism entitling it to supersede that in the old liturgy. I know that some have blamed the latter as not being sufficiently comprehensive; but, perhaps, such persons confound the idea of a catechism with that of a body of divinity. Yours, indeed, cannot be blamed as deep or abstruse; but, on the other hand, there are many things in it which, however proper they might be in familiar discourse between a parent and a child, do not appear to me fit parts of a catechism.

Let me add, that you have kept in some things which have been faulted by many wise and conscientious persons, and cannot be contended for as necessary by any: for instance, the expression in the burial service, which pronounces so positively on the state of the deceased. Perhaps, too, you have been over cautious in regard to the Psalms.

Observations of this sort I offer with great submission; there being none of them which I would not be ready to sacrifice to the sense of any society of men of which I might happen to be a member.

I ought not to leave you with the impression that there are none of your changes which I can praise. Your use of the passage from Mark xii. I very much admire. In the Scotch Episcopal Church, I am told, the recital of the ten commandments, or of what you have added, is left to discretion. If only one were kept, I should prefer the former, on account of the use of reciting so particularly in the hearing of the people God's commands against crimes: especially with the solemn petition annexed to each command. But I see no improper repetition in introducing a passage by which the same commands derive additional weight from the authority of one greater than Moses. For this reason perhaps it would have been still better to have placed it immediately after the ten commandments.

Your injunction to parents, in the baptismal service, I think very good;

and some parts of it might have been beautifully incorporated with the old charge; which must also be allowed to be excellent.

Once more I entreat your candid reception of my remarks.

Dear Sir:

I have received your polite letter of December 3d, in answer to that which I did myself the honour to write to you. The observations contained in it, so far from giving offence, afford me peculiar pleasure, as they are expressed with moderation and candour. Unhappy, indeed, I am to find that the new liturgy of our congregation is not approved by a gentleman of Dr White's well known learning and abilities. And I am sorry to add, that the objections which you make against it do not, in general, appear to be well founded; and that I can yet see no reason for altering my opinion, that the reformation it contains is expedient, just and necessary.

It would be presumption in me, who from my profession have had no opportunity of acquiring a profound knowledge in divinity, to enter into a controversy with a gentleman who has employed so many years in that study. I think it my duty, however, to return such replies to your observations as have naturally suggested themselves to me, and which have been furnished by a friend to whom I have shown your letter. I trust, sir, that you, who appear to be a sincere lover of truth, will not be displeased with their freedom.

Though the unity of the Church in the same doctrines and modes of worship, is undoubtedly a very desirable blessing, yet it must be allowed that truth, or what is thought to be truth, is an object which is still more worthy the esteem of Christians and honest men. It is upon this principle that any single congregation has a clear right to dissent from any church or large body of Christians, provided they be supposed to be essentially erroneous. This point you have conceded, and your concession appears to me fully to justify the conduct of the society belonging to the Stone Chapel. The liturgy of the Church of England was believed by that society to be essentially erroneous with respect to the object of prayer—for they conceived that they are expressly commanded by our Saviour and his apostles to pray to God, and to God only. Unwilling, however, to disturb the peace and unity of the Church, or to do any thing which should offend their Episcopal brethren, for whom they entertain the sincerest affection, they waited with patience till the result of the convention, which was held at New York October 1784, was known. When, however, they found it was established as a fundamental principle by that convention, that the Episcopal Church in America "shall maintain the doctrines of the Gospel as now held by the Church of England, and shall adhere to the liturgy of the said Church as far as shall be consistent with the American revolution," &c.—they concluded that no more time was to be lost, and that as there was no expectation that a great and liberal reformation would be made, they had an undoubted right

to deliver themselves from what seemed to them unscriptural impositions. Still they hoped that they might be considered a part of the Episcopal Church, as they maintained the expediency of Episcopal ordination, which they conceived to be the most essential article of an Episcopal Church, and that their brethren would not deem it either politic or charitable to reject them from their communion merely on account of difference in opinion. Some reasonable expectations were entertained that the convention which was to be held in Philadelphia would expunge all disputable doctrines (and the doctrine of the Trinity is certainly disputable, to say nothing more of it), and whilst they inserted no expressions in the liturgy which could wound an Athanasian, that they would leave out all which would hurt the conscience of a Unitarian. In a word, they hoped that a comprehensive plan, which would include all Protestant Episcopalians, however differing in sentiments, would be adopted, and that a Church would be erected upon the broad basis, not of unity of opinion, for that, in the present imperfect state of human nature, is impossible, but of unity of affection and charity. I cannot forbear thinking that the new liturgy used by our congregation is of this comprehensive nature, and that every sect may conscientiously adopt it. It is general and indefinite, like the sacred Scriptures, and every sect may reason from it, as from the sacred Scriptures, in defence of their peculiar tenets. If God has not condescended to reveal himself fully in the Bible, upon several articles of our faith, it certainly does not become us to attempt to be wise above that which he has written. If we adhere to scriptural modes of expression, we are in no danger of erring: but if, from supposing them not sufficiently definite, we aim at being more precise and determinate; and, from mistaken principles of gratitude and piety, pay to any being, to our blessed Saviour for instance, that adoration, for which we have no authority in the inspired writings; we are justly chargeable with rendering an homage which God has not required at our hands, and, perhaps, with giving to another that glory which he has reserved for himself only. To this reasoning, possibly an Athanasian may not assent. But should he not, I see no reason why he may not conscientiously make use of the new liturgy. For if he supposes that the word God, whenever it occurs in the Scriptures, intends a being consisting of three persons mystically united in one substance, he may also suppose the same thing of the word God when he repeats it in his prayers. As he professes to believe, not less firmly than the Arian or even the Socinian himself, that God is one, he ought not, by dividing the Deity as it were into three parts in his acts of devotion, to suggest that he imagines there are more Gods than one. Let the incomprehensible mystery of the Trinity exist in the mind, but let it exist there as a point of speculation only; and let not the Athanasian, by continually expressing his belief of it in his prayers, prevent the conscientious Unitarian from joining in his devotions. With equal reason, propriety and charity, might an Arian suggest in his pray-

ers, that there once was a time when our Saviour did not exist, or the Socinian, that Jesus Christ was nothing but a man.

It was hoped by the congregation worshipping at the Chapel, that observations similar to those which I have now made would engage the atttention of the venerable and learned convention which was to meet at Philadelphia. Or, if such a plan should be thought too general and indefinite to suit the Athanasians, to whom, as they must be allowed to be the largest body of Episcopalians in these states, much indulgence is due, *they* might be permitted a full use of Trinitarian forms, without others being compelled to adopt them. The 34th of the Articles of the Church of England says—"That it is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one or utterly like." Had a more general and enlarged idea been expressed in the article, it would, in my opinion, have contributed more to the peace and harmony of the Church. For it appears evident to me that it is not necessary that traditions, ceremonies, doctrines and public prayers be one or utterly like even in different congregations of the same Church. For were the several congregations which compose a church permitted to make such alterations and omissions in the liturgy as might appear to them necessary, they might for ever continue united as one body, under their Episcopal heads, however various their sentiments might be. The Athanasian, whilst his conscience would not allow him to leave out the petitions to the Son and Holy Ghost, might rest satisfied with having these addresses printed in the liturgy, and might cheerfully and candidly permit the Unitarian to suppress them. I know that it was the wish of many persons, besides those who worship at the Chapel, that such a plan might be adopted by the convention. For my own part, and in this case I believe I express the sentiments of the congregation of which I am a member, I would, with this indulgence, freely give up the new liturgy, and adopt that of the Church of England, as it has been judiciously altered and amended at Philadelphia. The Congregational Church of this state, though the several individuals who compose it differ very widely in sentiments, is firmly united, because all the ministers are left at liberty to pray according to their consciences. In this instance I think their practice is laudable, and worthy the imitation of the Episcopal Church. For though extempore prayers (which I am far indeed from approving) admit of a greater latitude than printed forms, yet your excellent liturgy might, with a few omissions, easily be made conformable to every Christian mind. Should the convention which is to meet in June determine not to enlarge their plan to this liberal extent, the congregation worshipping at the Chapel, provided it persevere in its present system, which I have reason to think it will do, must be reduced to the disagreeable necessity of separating itself from the Episcopal Church, and availing itself of that resource, which the glorious freedom of our country affords, of forming an independent society.

After these general observations, I perhaps ought to take some notice

of the arguments which you allege to justify praying to Christ. The limits of a letter will not permit me to enter far into this question, had I abilities adequate to the task. The society of the Chapel did not presume to alter the liturgy till the members of it were fully convinced, by arguments drawn from the Scriptures and reason, that God is the sole object of prayer. Reason taught them that God is one, and that it is criminal in a person who believes him to be one to bestow upon another those honours which the Father of the universe has reserved to himself. They were convinced by the Scriptures that prayers ought to be addressed to God only; because they found that both our Saviour and his apostles constantly prayed to God, and that they have taught us to do so. I need not quote the many texts which relate to this point, as a number of them are printed in the preface of the new liturgy, and as they must be undoubtedly well known to a gentleman of your learning. They could perceive no example of any prayer to Christ in the New Testament, except that very dubious one of St Stephen, and that of St John, Rev. xxii. 20, which is still more dubious. But neither of these they conceived sufficient to justify prayer to Christ. For both St Stephen and St John saw Jesus in vision when they thus addressed him. Neither of these objections they thought sufficient to overthrow the express commands of our Saviour and his apostles; especially when they found the former positively forbidding his disciples to pray to him after his resurrection. John xvi. 23. The two objections which you have urged were attended to, and all due weight given them. It was readily acceded that Jesus *was worshipped* by his immediate disciples and by the angels; but the word *worship* is used in so indefinite a sense in the sacred Scriptures, that it was supposed that it could not thence be inferred that our Saviour is the object of prayer. The following texts are sufficient to show that worship is sometimes given to men: 1 Chron. xxix. 20; Matt. xviii. 26. If from our Saviour's being worshipped it be concluded that he is the object of prayer, it may with equal propriety be concluded that David is the object of prayer. The nature of worship must be determined by the character of the being to whom it is paid. If to God, it is supreme worship; if to the Mediator, it is mediatorial worship; if to men, reverence and honour; if to a wife from her husband (see matrimonial service), conjugal respect and tenderness. Our society was far from denying that mediatorial worship is due to Jesus Christ. This kind of worship they imagined would be fully expressed in the doxologies to the Son, in the benedictions, in the form of baptism, and in concluding all prayers in the name of Christ. Had the writers of the New Testament believed that any higher worship was necessary, they would undoubtedly have given us positive directions upon this head.

With respect to the first Christians *calling on the name of Christ*, should the text which contains that phrase be justly translated, it is evident, as Dr Clarke has shown, that it is used in a great variety of senses; and that it generally means either believing in Christ, acknowledging him

our Saviour, openly professing ourselves Christians, being baptized in his name, invoking his name upon diseased persons in order to a miraculous cure, praying in his name or through his intercession, and but in one instance, that of St Stephen, (which I humbly conceive is not sufficient to justify prayer to Christ), directly calling upon or invoking him. The friend to whom I have communicated your letter is of opinion that Acts ix. 14, the text to which he supposes you principally allude, might more justly be rendered, as it is rendered in the Arabic version, "to bind all who are called *by* thy name," that is, all who are Christians or who believe in Christ, the being who appeared to Ananias in vision; and that all texts in which the first Christians are said to have called upon Christ ought to be translated in a similar manner. And this rendering he conceives is fully justified by the manner in which the same word which is employed in this text is translated in other passages of the New Testament. See Matt. x. 3; Luke, xxii. 3; Acts, i. 23, x. 18, xii. 12, and xv. 17; James, ii. 7. Whether this opinion be just, you, sir, can best determine.

The society of the chapel, though they profess a great veneration for Dr Clarke, think themselves under no obligation of implicitly following him or any other uninspired man. If therefore there be any thing in his works which is opposed to the new liturgy, the society deem themselves sufficiently justified in retaining it, provided it be not also opposed to the Scriptures. But I confess I see nothing in Dr Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, in his sermon upon the power and authority of Christ, or in his paraphrase, which justifies praying to our Saviour after his resurrection. Dr Clarke, it is true, entertained a high idea of the power and authority of Christ, as the members of our society also do. And though, in his sermon, he condemns the opinion of Arius, who affirmed that there was a time when the Son had no being, yet it would be difficult to show how in other respects he differs from the Arians. That great and good man, as you justly style him, took great pains to avoid the odious name of heretic; but the members of our society are not anxious upon this head; for whilst they are protected by the laws against persecution, they freely consent that their opponents should bestow upon them the appellation of Arians, Socinians or any other harmless titles they think proper. I am far from thinking that our society has deviated further from the liturgy of the Church of England than Dr Clarke's system requires, though possibly Mr Lindsey may have done so. If you consult the account of Dr Clarke's liturgy, printed in one of Mr Lindsey's publications, you will find that the Doctor has omitted every petition to the Son and Holy Ghost, or converted them into prayers to God. The opinion of the fathers, either before or after the council of Nice, is, I humbly conceive, of no consequence in a question of this kind, unless fully authorized by the sacred Scriptures. Nothing more is intended to be insinuated by the passage in our preface against which you object than that the Gloria Patri was *composed* by Damasus, bishop of

Rome, and the doxologies in the new liturgy by St Paul and St John. Should it be true that doxologies to the holy spirit were in use before the time of Damasus, yet as no such doxologies can be found in the New Testament, unquestionably they ought not to be made part of public worship.

The object of our society in the new liturgy was to leave out all such expressions as wound the conscience of a unitarian, without introducing any which should displease a trinitarian. They conceived themselves under no obligations to accommodate the service to the peculiar speculative principles of Dr Priestley or the Socinians. A multitude of different opinions may be entertained by Christians who conscientiously use the same liturgy; because such liturgy need not notice those opinions. A man who denies, and a man who affirms, that there is such a substance as the human soul, may both join in praying to God in the name of Jesus Christ.

I have already in some measure replied to your second general observation. But it is necessary perhaps further to add, that it is readily acceded that our making the alterations of the liturgy a congregational act is inconsistent with the government of the Church of England. The compilers of the thirty-nine articles, I allow, did not mean that rites and ceremonies might be different in the same diocese. This assertion and others of the same kind in our preface are not intended to express ideas contained in the articles, but inferences which may be justly drawn from them. In the preface our design is to reason with those Episcopalians who adhere to the old liturgy upon their own principles. Should the reason be inconclusive, it is of no consequence, as the merits of our cause are rested not upon articles of human invention, but upon the sacred Scriptures. I would again observe that no alteration was attempted, till the opinion of the Episcopal churches represented in the New York convention was known. But when we found that a reformation was not likely to take place with respect to the great object of religious worship, we concluded that we had a right to make the correction of the service a congregational act.

The argument which you rest upon moral obligation, respecting our society keeping possession of the house heretofore known by the name of King's Chapel, if it be of any force, proves too much. For it proves that the Protestants in England, at the reformation, had no right to keep possession of the churches built by Roman Catholics, or to compel the minority, who adhered to the ancient doctrines, to seek elsewhere what they conceived to be a more Christian worship. And it also proves, that no Episcopal congregation in America has right to keep possession of a house of worship after adopting the alterations made at your convention, provided one or two persons object against them. I know that there are some Episcopalians in this town who are averse from the least change; and I doubt not that several of the same disposition might be found in different parts of the continent. You seem, sir, by your manner of ex-

pressing yourself, to suppose that the chapel was the gift of the king of England, or of some person not a member of the society. I beg leave to undeceive you in this matter. Towards the erection of the present edifice several generous donations were indeed received; but the principal weight of the expense was sustained by individuals of the society. The building became the property of those who purchased pews; and the present pew holders are either original proprietors or have purchased in under those who were. The minority, consisting of not more than half a dozen proprietors, are not deprived of their property in the house, but are at liberty to keep possession or sell, as they see fit.

I agree with you, sir, that the progress of the Roman Catholic Church ought to be guarded against with the utmost vigilance. But I humbly conceive that the ambitious schemes of that Church, or of any other enterprising zealots, will most effectually be crushed by the Episcopal Church accomplishing a plan which will be *truly* great and liberal. For whilst she tenaciously adheres to disputable doctrines many conscientious persons will be prevented from joining her communion, though they might otherwise be engaged by the general propriety and beauty of her worship. There is also reason to apprehend that other congregations, besides that of which I am a member, will, should they become Unitarians in doctrine, separate themselves from the Episcopal Church, and form themselves into independent societies. Should Unitarian sentiments spread as rapidly in America as they have the last century in England, revolts from the Episcopal Church may become very frequent, as no causes of an interested nature exist here to prevent a separation.

I sincerely thank you, sir, for the observations contained in the postscript of your letter. Some of them appear to me of weight; and if I venture to say that others seem to be of less importance, I hope you will pardon my presumption.

The absolution in the new liturgy is converted into a prayer, because it has given offence to many, and looks too much like a relic of popery. Our society conceived that the power of remitting sins, communicated to the apostles, is not continued down to the ministers of the present day. Should, however, the absolution be unexceptionable, it cannot be pretended that there is any thing in the prayer which is improper.

I shall not attempt to defend the doxology of the new liturgy against that of the old. If the enumeration of the attributes of the Deity be too imperfectly made for so solemn an act of public worship, it is the fault of the apostle.

I cannot conceive that in our prayer for Congress we have lost that beauty which you mention. A supreme power, I apprehend, resides in a republic not less than in a monarchy; though the governments differ in this respect, that in the latter the authority is vested in one hereditary sovereign, and in the former it is delegated to many persons. The Congress, our sovereign head, may, adopting the poetical language of the Scriptures, with propriety be styled our king, our lord. The same ob-

jection which you have made was urged at the time the service was altered, and the phrase, the only ruler of rulers, proposed instead of the words as they now stand; but this phrase was rejected, as it was conceived not to be so beautiful as the language of Scripture.

A new catechism is substituted in place of that contained in the old liturgy, because it is conceived by our society that the latter contains some things which are doubtful and others which are exceptionable. I do not conceive that a catechism can be too plain and familiar, as it is designed for the instruction of very young children.

I readily acknowledge the force of the other objections which you make in your postscript. Should they strike the society of the Chapel in the same light they strike me, the defects which you have pointed out may easily be removed.

Having been so full in answering your letter, I ought to beg pardon for trespassing so long upon your patience, as well as for presuming to differ from you in opinion. I return you my grateful acknowledgements for the sheets of the new liturgy which you have been pleased to send me. I think the alterations judicious; and need not add, that with a few omissions I could freely adopt the whole of what you have afforded me.

I am, with due respect, reverend sir,

Your obliged and humble servant,

Boston, January 8, 1786. CHARLES MILLER.

March, 1786.

Sir:

I take the opportunity of sending you the continuation of the Prayer Book, to acknowledge the receipt of your polite letter of the 8th of January, the following hasty remarks on which are merely intended to point out to you in what respects your answers to my observations do not appear to me to carry the force intended by you.

Your first five pages contain general observations, and the substance of them I think to be as follows: That however desirable the unity of the Church, greater regard is to be had to truth. That any single congregation has a right, and this, you say, is a point which I have conceded, to depart from a Church they have heretofore belonged to, on finding it to be erroneous. That, accordingly, your congregation have taken this liberty, from a conviction of the Church of England's being essentially erroneous with respect to the object of prayer; after waiting, however, the event of the convention of 1784: and that, although they have since set up a form of their own, it was with the hope that they might still continue a part of the same Church, with their fellow members generally throughout the continent, because their sense is general and indefinite, and may be used by persons of different sentiments.

However indubitable the first of the above propositions, I do not see that it establishes the second; if by a congregation you mean the collective body, with the possessions they held as a branch of the same Church:

and although you say that I have conceded this point, you will, perhaps, on re-examination, find that you misunderstood me. All men have a right to leave a church they think essentially erroneous, but this does not amount to the purpose for which you quoted my supposed concession.

Under the impression that the Church of England is essentially erroneous in regard to the object of prayer, I humbly apprehend that you have less occasion (still meaning as individuals) to prove that you were not hasty in leaving her bosom than to vindicate your continuing in it so long; and, indeed, it is almost incredible, that an intelligent congregation, such as yours, should either at the same time generally change their minds in regard to the very object of prayer, or that, having changed, they should wait for any particular period for the leaving of their past (supposed) idolatrous practice. Could I think it possible that persons, never before professing themselves of our communion, had been introduced on such an occasion, and that a contrivance was thus made to overturn the system, the difficulty would be solved. But as candour and charity forbid my supposing this, I am at a loss to account for it on any known principles of human conduct.*

As to the last of the particulars recited, if it were, as you say in your letter, that "the expediency of Episcopal ordination is the most essential article of an Episcopal Church," it would of course follow, that congregations harmonizing in this one point might, however differing in others, be parts of the same Church. But as, on the one hand, it would be a very singular Church, indeed, which should hold up a certain matter of order as the only part of its foundation essential to be retained, so I hope you will, on further consideration, think it quite unnecessary on my part to prove, that the same cannot be said of the Church to which we have belonged. I shall lay the less stress on this subject, as it is a singular opinion, and what I do not think you will long maintain, that persons differing in regard to the object of prayer, may be of the same Church or communion.

It is not easy for me to answer what you argue, from the case of the congregational societies in the New England states, because I am not acquainted with their circumstances. This much is certain, that they are severally entire and independent bodies; and, therefore, rules very correct for them may be absolutely inconsistent with the peace of congregations which are to submit to the same government, and to have, each of them, some proportion of influence on its decisions. It is also certain, that your congregationalists, having sprung from ancestors much assimilated in manners as well as in belief, and not having (until late) much communication with the rest of the world, have generally adhered to their ancient Calvinistical systems. If there be exceptions, they are few; and should it happen, that societies among them hereafter avowedly dissent

* What is mentioned as inconsistent with candour and charity to be supposed, had been reported, and was afterwards found to be the fact.

from one another on the present subject of this letter, I cannot persuade myself that they will continue to consider one another as of the same communion.

Whether all opinions are to be tolerated in the same Church, and whether erroneous opinions are to be excluded by means of established creeds and articles, are two different questions; and, on the latter, I conceive it to be an insuperable argument against the confessional and other such books, that on their principles there is the only alternative of either admitting every error, however extravagant, or of submitting to government of will instead of that of law. Suppose, for instance, a minister regularly inducted and settled as a pastor in your congregation, should entertain you with weekly sermons in favour of transubstantiation and of the adoration of saints and angels, or on the worship due to the blessed Redeemer—doctrines which, before his admission, he either did not believe, or had contrived to conceal. This you would doubtless think a sufficient ground for a discontinuance of his ministerial charge of you. And yet, for any thing that appears in your system, it would be impossible to remove him, without adopting a mode of proceeding in ecclesiastical causes the most capricious that can be imagined. Let me beg you here to distinguish between the use and the abuse of the requisition alluded to. In pleading for articles of faith, I shall not deny that all the Protestant churches, at the reformation, carried them too far; and I am humbly of opinion, that they have required uniformity of sentiment in matters which are rather subjects of philosophical determination than of the substance of Christian doctrine.

The next three pages of your letter were prompted by your intention to set me right in regard to some texts which I had quoted, as being favourable to the worship of Jesus Christ. You will find, on recurring to my letters, that they came in occasionally. Had I brought them expressly in the way of proof, I should have thought it my duty to have introduced many (very many) others, which I rather contented myself with referring to in Dr Clarke. Neither, indeed, should I have been satisfied with merely quoting texts directly speaking of such worship, but should have enumerated, as applied to the Son, attributes which are universally agreed to be a ground of adoration in the Father. Therefore, what I shall now advance in regard to the said texts, is merely intended to offer to you a clue, by which it appears to me you may discover that your friend, whom you say you have consulted, has (I hope not intentionally) misled you.

You say that St Stephen and St John saw our Saviour in vision, when they addressed him. Acts vii. 59, and Rev. xvi. 29. Now, sir, in the first instance, the seeing of Christ was before the council at the trial, and not out of the city, at the execution; and St John's prayer is no part of his narrative of what passed in the presence of Jesus, but is introduced as proceeding from his devout fervour, at the time of his recording of his vision, and is a very natural and beautiful close of them.

Your friend has suggested to you that Acts v. 9, 14, might more properly be translated, "to bind all which are called by thy name." Although, sir, your letter seems to imply that your line of reading does not qualify you to judge in this matter, yet I presume you must be acquainted with many persons who have so much knowledge of the Greek tongue as to understand the meaning of words, and are at the same time acquainted with the general principles of grammar. To such, provided they have no systems to maintain, or would be too tenacious of their literary reputation to risk it on a construction wholly ungrammatical, I must beg leave to refer you. Any such person will tell you, that the substantive "name" is governed by the verb "call on," and that to admit the English phraseology "by thy name," it ought not to be so governed. Your friend, to support his construction, has suggested to you several texts translated "by thy name:" Matt. x. 3; Luke xxii. 3; Acts i. 23, and x. 18 and 12, and xv. 17, and James xi. 7. Now, sir, any such grammarian as I have mentioned, will tell you, that in the said texts, except the two last, the Greek participle, translated "called," agrees in gender, number and person, with its following substantive, which also agrees with a substantive preceding the participle. This is no grammatical nicety. The texts would be nonsense if translated otherwise than as they are; and therefore can be no rule for the translation of other texts, in which the substantive, being governed by the verb, and receiving the force of its preposition, must be as our version has them—which are not only no precedents for another translation of those that make against you, but strongly show in what way the sentence ought to be constructed, where the sense is synonymous with the being called Christians. For then, as in the two texts alluded to, the word "name" is either the nominative of the verb "called," or else agrees with that word as its participle; and a pronoun follows, to denote the persons on whom the name is called.

I shall be more brief on the remainder of your letter.

You say that the opinions of the fathers, after or before the Council of Nice, are of no consequence, unless authorized by the Scriptures. It is true; and yet, in determining on the sense of Scripture, they are of consequence. For that the professors of a religion, of which the great glory is the battering down of the stupendous structure of idolatry, should, from the first age downwards, be themselves idolaters, is incredible. We make use of early historical evidence to prove the truth of Christianity; and surely the same evidence may be one criterion by which to try the asserted fact, that the divinity of Christ was acknowledged by the Church from the beginning.

You say that your society do not conceive themselves under any obligation to accommodate their service to the peculiar speculative opinions of Dr Priestley or the Socinians; and this is said in answer to my observation, that notwithstanding your declared intentions to accommodate your service to men of different speculative opinions, you had not gone far enough to accomplish the object. I still think, that should any persons

request to be relieved from the burthen of prayers which, contrary to their judgments, recognize the existence of a human soul, and a state of consciousness between death and resurrection, they ought, on the principle of your letter, to be indulged. Or, should others request to have the rite of baptism dispensed with, the same plea might be urged on their behalf. These I take to be clear inferences from your principles, but they are not involved in mine: for I think a Church may adhere to what she conceives to be of substance of Christian doctrine, and require it in all her members, without the least uncharitableness towards those who are not willing, on her conditions, to be of the number.

As to what was said in regard to moral obligation, I consider my freedom as barely warranted by your invitation. I am not fond of adding to what I offered in that respect, only as you say that if it proves any thing it proves too much, and instance the reformation. I must observe, that the two cases differ in the following respects: 1. The main point on which exceptionable doctrines of the Romish church rested, was obedience to the papal see, which the government of the country had a right to consider as inconsistent with the moral duty of obedience to civil rulers. 2. The Church of England was nationally endowed; and, of course, subject to national regulation. 3. It is agreed, that where public prosperity is immediately at stake, personal rights may yield to so great an object. You say that some persons are against making any alterations at present in our Church service. I answer, that if the alterations we are making are contrary to what appears, from the institutions and the conduct of the Church of England, to be her sense of the essential doctrines of the Gospel, such persons have cause to complain. But, if they are in what the same Church has declared to be matters subject to change, the case is foreign to our argument. Let me add, that what I advanced on this head was on the presumption that your church was built, as all churches with us were, by subscription; and that considerable sums of money were received, beyond the value of any interest the givers could expect to hold in it, and even from persons who could hold no interest in it all. If I am wrong in the facts, my observations were ill founded.

In regard to what I took the liberty to mention, in the postscript to my letter, I shall be as little tenacious of it as you are of your obligations on the same subject. Therefore, the only particular I shall reply to, is where you say, that if in your doxology the attributes of the Almighty are imperfectly enumerated for so solemn an act of worship, it is the fault of the apostle. By no means—the enumeration may be sufficient for the purpose of the apostle in the place where it is used, and yet not the most suitable to the idea of a stated doxology,

The few remaining sheets of the Prayer Book consist of some hymns, the tables, and the preface, which I shall send you as soon as printed.

I have the honour to be, sir, with great respect,

Your very humble servant,

WM WHITE.

P.S. The part of your letter which related to Dr Clarke, I have purposely postponed to the postscript; because, although what you have said did not agree with my recollection of his writings, I had not his books by me while I was writing my letter.

You say that you see nothing in his doctrine of the trinity, nor in his sermon, quoted by me, nor in his paraphrase, that justifies praying to the Son after his resurrection. And in another place you say, that in one instance only, that of St Stephen, he construes "calling on the name of Christ," as the same with directly calling upon or invoking him. Now, in his "Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity," (page 139) I find under this head—"directly calling on or invoking him," about sixty texts: to about eleven of which, however, Dr Clarke, in his cautious and modest way, annexes notes, expressing ambiguity, not as to the meaning of "call upon," but whether the passages referred to Christ or to the Father.

You say, that although Dr Clarke condemns the opinion of Arius, who affirms that there was a time when the Son of God had no being, it would be difficult to show how, in other respects, he differs from the Arians. The observation surprises me; because I always took this to have been the point on which Arius first gave offence, and the only or the chief on which the Arians have differed from the Catholics or the orthodox.

You say Dr Clarke took great pains to avoid the odious name of heretic. What pains these were I never heard; unless it were the clearing of himself of holding principles ascribed to him, but which he could not own. The freedom of his speculations was one of the most striking frailties in his character. I take his sentiments as they appear in his works. If you have in view such as he may have otherwise expressed, I wonder you should have thought him or his sentiments worthy of being placed in so distinguished a point of view in your work. The book of his from which I chiefly take my ideas of his system, is his "Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity;" and this, I must still say, does not require such a departure from our system as you have made, and will for ever convey a different representation of him, than the profession you have made of reforming the liturgy on his plan. In proof of this, I might produce whole chapters of his book: but in addition to what has been said, I will only refer you to the second chapter of his third book, in which he professes to point out all the passages of the Prayer Book thought by him inconsistent with his plan, but in which he has left untouched many parts essentially inconsistent with the principles of your reform—for instance, the Te Deum and the Litany, except the first four petitions of it, which he omits. Now, I need not inform you, that many of the petitions of the former, and all those of the latter, are addressed to the Son. I do not know the publication of Mr Lindsey to which you refer; but I shall be very much surprised to find a man of Dr Clarke's talents inconsistent with himself.

Since writing the above I have seen the publication of Mr Lindsey, to

which, as I suppose, you refer—his Farewell Address to the Parishioners of Catterick. In this he gives us, not Dr Clarke's liturgy complete, but information of the alterations made; and these taken from a copy in the British Museum. Agreeably to Mr Lindsey's representation, it does indeed appear that Dr Clarke intended to leave out every invocation of our Saviour: on what principle I do not know—not surely as being unscriptural, when he has elsewhere produced so many instances of it from the Scriptures. I do not know what to say of this matter. On the one hand it seems doubtful how far to form a judgment from so short an account of the contents of the manuscript said to be in the Museum: and, on the other, I have no reason to question either there being such a manuscript, or Mr Lindsey's fairness in his narrative—for as to quotations, he has given none. In the mean time I submit to you the propriety of my observations, so far as they concern his "Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity."*

Extract from a letter of Dr Parker to Dr White, dated January 31, 1786.

"You will also be kind enough to accept my sincere thanks for your most excellent letter to Mr Miller, and for your politeness in giving me a perusal of it before the delivery. It was no small addition to their mortification that such a letter should come to them through me, and that I should be acquainted with its contents; which would never have been the case had it been received by Mr Miller before I had perused it. The committee of that society who revised their liturgy had given out that all the churches on the continent to the southward of Connecticut were in the same sentiments, and the liturgy, when revised by the convention then to be held in Philadelphia, would be exactly similar to theirs, and they are not a little chagrined to find themselves so much mistaken. I feel myself much indebted to you, not only for the letter itself, but for the caution you use in precluding the suspicion of my having communicated any account of their proceedings; by which means your arguments will probably be more attended to, as you could not possibly be influenced by prejudices, as they very rightly suppose me to be. I have, however, no hopes that even *your* arguments will convince them of their errors, or that they will retract as long as Mr ——— continues their reader. There is but one reason to suspect they ever will, and that is, the difficulty they will find in their present plan of his obtaining ordination. I have heard that they applied to Dr Seabury to give him episcopal ordination, but that he refused; and I think, by your ecclesiastical constitution, he must be precluded from obtaining it from any bishop at the southward that shall accede to those articles. Should he have recourse to the congregational clergy, and be ordained by them, all pretence of

* It may be proper to mention here, as in a note to my former letter, that I afterwards saw, in the British Museum, a quarto Prayer Book, altered, as Mr Lindsey represents, and said to be by Dr Clarke's hand.

their being an Episcopal church must be at end, and a way will be opened to the minority to recover the house. Indeed the minority is more properly the majority: for, in order to carry their point, the first step was to declare the pews of all *absentees*, of which description of persons were a great number of the proprietors of that most elegant church, to be confiscated or forfeited. They then passed a vote that no person should have liberty to purchase a vault under the church (of which there were a number unappropriated) who was not a proprietor of the church. These vaults being in great demand induced many dissenters to become proprietors, for the sake of being entitled to a vault; and, though they do not attend the worship of the church, were called in to vote for this new liturgy. But a very few of the old proprietors are now attendants there; but the greater number are dissenters, and the most thorough-paced one of all is their reader. I am told that an answer to your letter is gone forward, in the name I suppose of Mr Miller, but the joint production of the whole committee, consisting of lawyers, doctors, merchants and mechanics, with Mr ——— at their head. But 'magna est veritas et prævalebit.'"

III.

(Page 141 ante, in note.)

A PROJECTED REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF BISHOPS CONCERNING THE TABLE OF KINDRED AND AFFINITY.

The committee feel the weight of the subject; and in proportion to the embarrassments which they perceive to attend it, is the submission with which they make their report.

It hangs as a difficulty on the whole subject, that although there are important reasons, moral, natural and political, and, in addition, precepts of the word of God, against sexual intercourse of very near relations, yet the condition of humanity is such that dispensing circumstances may occur. Besides the instance of the family of the first man, the history of the patriarchal families furnishes us with deviations from what we now contend for as required by divine and by human laws.

The committee believe that the only instances in which the correctness

of the table has been called in question are those of the marriage of a man with his brother's wife or with his wife's sister; and those of the marriage of a woman with her husband's brother or with her sister's husband. Accordingly the report of the committee, so far as it involves the question of the alteration of the present table, will relate to these cases only.

It was remarked above that there are moral, natural and political reasons against the sexual intercourse of persons in near relation. In respect to morals, temptations arise from the familiarities which are the natural consequence, and which administer to the satisfactions of life. In nature also the displeasure of her divine author is stamped on matrimonial alliances within nearness of blood, by making them a means of the deterioration of the species. The good of the state also is promoted by the diluting of a source of domestic partialities, and of the perpetuating of hostilities. The second of these considerations has no place in the present discussion. The first and the third apply; but not in such a degree as to constitute the act in question, a "malum in se," that is, "an evil in itself;" so called to distinguish it from "malum prohibitum," that is, "an evil made so by existing law." The former character is not conveyed to the marriages in question by their producing of temptations to licentiousness; whatever reason there may be in this for providing against them by public law.

In consequence of the matrimonial relation there take place frequent and familiar intercourses between each of the parties, and the brothers and the sisters of the other. It must be a great hindrance of domestic friendships if there were understood to be no bars to sexual union, under any circumstances which can ordinarily occur. Still, there is a distinction between what is essentially sin, and what public wisdom may reasonably forbid because sin will be a frequent consequence.

On this ground it must be held desirable that the laws of the land should prohibit the marriages now treated of. But if this has not been done, it would seem that a church in such a land, however it may see cause to entertain and to express disapprobation of them, should hesitate to reject from the communion on their account; unless there can be alleged some divine law requiring such an act: for then the sanction of the state ought not to extort the sanction of the church.

The scriptural ground taken in proof of unlawfulness is the tenth chapter of Leviticus. In the sixteenth verse there is an express prohibition of the marriage of a man with his brother's wife; but there was afterwards permitted, and even enjoined, a large class of exceptions, to favour the feature in the Jewish policy, which limited the succession of an inheritance to a person of the tribe in which it lay: a wise provision in itself; but which, it may be thought, would not have been made at the expense of the violation of the essential laws of purity. The eighteenth verse is a prohibition of a man's marrying of his wife's sister; and is expressed in such terms as are thought to favour the construction

of its being intended of two living sisters. The construction is contended to be barred by the principle of the prohibition of the 16th verse. If this should be granted, the consequence will seem to be, that although there are no such exceptions as those induced with a view to inheritance, exceptions are not precluded by the essential impurity of the act. Here comes in the question how far the Levitical law is binding on Christian people. On this point our Church says—"Although the law given from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites, do not bind Christian men, nor the civil precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any commonwealth; yet, notwithstanding, no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the commands which are called moral."

Does then the Levitical law contemplate such marriages as immoral, independently on its own positive prohibitions? To prove the affirmative of this, there are urged verses 26, 27 and 28, which say, that for the practices censured, emphatically called "abominations," the land was "spuing out her inhabitants." Stress is laid on the pronoun "these," applying to the practices. On the contrary, it is urged that the judgment should be limited to the unnatural vices, condemned in the verses immediately before; since what is forbidden in the former verses could not have been so strongly marked, without infamy attributed to what was common among the immediate progenitors of the Israelites: and here, the case of Jacob and his two sister wives is thought pertinent to the purpose. In addition, it is remarked, that the words "abomination" and "abominable" are not always used in Scripture in the very strong senses current amongst us; for which the appeal is made to Lev. xi. 10, 20, 41, 42, and to Deut. xvii. 1. One of the abominations is the eating of a fish that has neither fins nor scales.

We have no guidance on the subject of the marriages in question, either in the New Testament or in the very early ages of the Church, except that in the canons called "apostolic" (the 19th) it is provided, in the case of a man who has married two sisters, that he shall not be ordained to the ministry. This bears the appearance of prohibition on the ground of Christian prudence, and not as laying the charge of impurity. These canons are supposed to be of the second and third centuries. In the fourth century there are decrees against these marriages: and so there are against those of cousins of the first degree. In the cases in question, they require the parties to separate, as a condition of the communion. It is remarkable, that the Roman Catholic Church interdicts such alliances, with the exception, that the pope may grant a dispensation—it being supposed that the opposing law is not divine, but ecclesiastical. This is inconsistent with the claim of that Church, in reference to tradition.

At the time of the reformation the Protestant Churches generally considered the said law as divine. The importance attached to the ques-

tion, as connected with the marriage of Henry VIII., is well known. All our reformers considered it as null, by the divine law, which renders the question of peculiar delicacy in this Church.

Notwithstanding the weight which the opinion derives from the circumstance stated, it has been questioned by many later divines of the Church of England. One only shall be named. Bishop Taylor, in his learned work, under the name of "Ductor Dubitantium" (page 217), contends that there is no obligation on Christians of those laws of Moses which have a bearing on the present subject: and (page 222) he considers the case of Henry VIII. as very much acted on by worldly policy, and by opinions from abroad purchased with money. It is worthy of mention, that although in England the law continues as settled at the reformation, there are well attested instances of such marriages as are here discoursed of unnoticed by authority.

Still, there is held to be a ligature of the law of Leviticus in the circumstance, that if this is removed, there is none other in Scripture to be a restraint from incest of any sort. But this does not follow. There will still be hindrances in morals, in nature and in policy; and further, in parity of reasoning from the divine Word, so far as those points can be proved to be concerned. Therefore, the correct consequence is, that the running of the line between the safe and hurtful, is left to the determinations of the State and of the Church, in their respective spheres. The Church ought to accommodate her provisions to those of the State, so far as can be done without injury or danger to the morals of her members. If the State should sanction what the Church considers as not essentially sinful, but as furnishing temptation to sin, she ought to discountenance it in such a degree as Christian prudence may direct. Under this view of the subject, it would be too arbitrary an exercise of authority to expel from the communion, much more to consider the parties as passing their succeeding lives in adultery, as they are contemplated by the law of England.

The result is the committee's proposing of the following instrument:—

By the bishops, the clergy and the laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the United States of America, in convention, this day of , in the year of our Lord .

The table of kindred and affinity, wherein whosoever are related are forbidden to marry, as established in the Church of England, is received and established in this Church, with the proviso, in reference to the prohibitions of a man's marrying of his brother's wife, or his wife's sister, and of a woman's marrying of her husband's brother, or her sister's husband, that although the Church disapproves of such marriages, because of temptations to sin in the allowance of them, yet, in the event of any such marriage, it shall not be a cause of repelling from the holy communion. But it shall not be lawful for any clergyman of this Church to celebrate such a marriage.

Extract from a Letter of Bishop White to Bishop Hobart, dated 19th February 1816.

"Of the matrimonial subject mentioned by you, the merits of the question seem to me sufficiently opened in the account given by Collier in his narrative of the proceedings in Henry VIII.'s divorce. Concerning the grounds of divorce generally, I do not know where so much learning is concentrated as in the celebrated treatise of Milton, found in the two quarto volumes of his prosaic works. This is said without approbation of his principles; which, being promulged by him about the time of the settlement of Connecticut, are said to have produced the loose maxims prevalent on the subject in that state. You certainly know the circumstance in the domestic history of the poet which led to so dangerous a publication.

"On such applications as that lately made to you, it has been my invariable practice to refuse. On that, as on other points, I have considered the institutions of the Church of England, however alterable in their nature, as binding on our Church, until altered by competent authority. The former prayers for civil rulers were repealed by the providence of God in the revolution. The other parts of the system have gone under review at different times, with the single exception of the table of degrees of marriage: and I do not see how any clergyman can undertake to alter it, according to his private judgment, without giving a precedent for great disorder. What should induce the greater caution, is the decided sense of the English reformers on the question proposed by you, and the effect of it in the work of the reformation.

"It is proper, however, I should confess to you, that I perceive much to be said on the other side, and am far from being convinced that the 18th chapter of Leviticus is binding on Christian states and churches.

"On the other hand, if a line is to be drawn by human discretion, there seems to me much of moral consideration against the marriages in question. There are so apt to ensue such intimacies between a man and his wife's sisters, and between a woman and her husband's brothers, as endanger those connexions to be snares, unless there prevail in them the same maxims as among relations by blood."

Extract from another Letter, dated 18th March 1817.

"During the revolutionary war I was for a time left alone in the ministry. I can truly say, that I took up the question very seriously, and decided it with myself conscientiously, as to what was rendered obligatory on me in relation to my engagements to the Church. The political prayers were superseded, and the using of them was punishable, by events brought about in the course of divine Providence. To pray for our civil rulers was a duty bound on us by a higher authority than that of the Church: and if, in this particular, any clergyman should act according to his best discretion, it was no more than would be justified by the exigency of the case. In all other respects, I held the former ecclesiastical system to be

binding. The conventions of our Church have always acted on the same principle, except that of October 1789: whose adopting of a different principle has rendered our liturgy much more imperfect (according to my opinion) than it would otherwise have been. On this point I could give you some interesting information.

"To proceed to your questions. Under the first, I am free to confess myself not convinced, that the 18th chapter of Leviticus (the only place, I believe, in question) is binding on Christian states or churches. On the other hand, there seem these considerations worthy of regard. 1. The prominence of the point at the crisis of the reformation, and the undoubted sense of the reformers. 2. If what is above stated be correct, its being still a law of our Church. And 3. That since, if you set aside the 18th chapter of Leviticus, there is an absolute necessity of some positive law for the drawing of the line of interdicted consanguinity and affinity, whether in the doing of this the moral ground of prohibition do not apply to this part of the subject, in consequence of the domestic intercourses which take place within the bounds of the contemplated relation.

"On the subject of your second question, you may infer my opinion from what has been said; to which I will add, that I have uniformly refused to officiate in such marriages. The last application was from a family of the same grade of respectability with that mentioned by you. Dr Blackwell joined the parties, as he has others of the same description. He is of opinion, with the house of clerical and lay deputies in 1789, that our Church possesses no institutions until made for her specially. If the matter had been so understood at the close of the revolutionary war, and there had been among us some such spirits as I can now designate, it would have torn us to pieces."

IV.

(Page 143 ante, in note.)

TWO LETTERS TO DR ABERCROMBIE, CONCERNING DR SMITH'S CHANTS.

June 20, 1809.

Dear Sir:

You have desired me to give you my opinion on what Dr Smith, of New York, has written to you concerning his comparison between the chanting of the psalms in prose, and the singing of them in metre.

Having been, so far as I know, the first clergyman in the United States who introduced chanting into any of our churches, I ought to be judged the more impartial in the opinion, that Dr Smith endangers his own object, by insisting on that species of psalmody to the exclusion of the other. He seems even to think true Christian devotion much involved in the question. But it is evident that we do not, in either case, sing the words in which the mind of the Holy Spirit was originally disclosed. We sing in a translation. Now if it be found, on experience, as is the fact, that rhyme, especially in the English language, makes the composition agreeable to the ear, it is difficult to see what principle is endangered by condescending to the well known taste of Christians generally, in this respect.

It will commonly, at least, be found, that when the Bible translation of the Psalms differs from that of the Prayer Book, the former is the more correct. And hence, the usual plea for retaining the latter is its being in a flowing style, and more familiar to the people. Its comparative incorrectness is, I believe, conceded.

I have always considered it a commendation of Tate and Brady's metre, that, wherever the translations differ, they follow that of the Bible. That both the Bible and the said metre are mistaken, in regard to Ps. lxxii. 15, is not so clear to me, as to Dr Smith. The word translated "to" in the Prayer Book, and "for" in the Bible, is בעד. Parkhurst, in his Lexicon (1st edition), considers it as a difficult word. If the sentiment be, as I take to be intended in the Bible, that prayer shall be made for the increase of the kingdom of the Messiah, the usual import of the said Hebrew word favours "for" more than "to." And Dr Smith will agree with me, that we are not so barren of anti-Socinian terms, as that we should strain any passage to our purpose. The translators of the Bible were no favourers of the Socinian errors; and as they had the Prayer Book translation before them, it is not probable that they lightly disregarded it in this instance. On consulting Dr Lowth, Bishop Patrick and Bishop Horne, who were unquestionably orthodox, I find them satisfied with the translation. The latter has been celebrated as an Hebrew scholar, and his interpretation of the text is agreeable to that given above.

I wish Dr Smith success in his endeavour to introduce chanting into churches; but hope he will take along with him the maxim—"*ne quid nimis.*"

If this can furnish you with any hints for your correspondence, you will make what use of it you please.

Yours, affectionately,

WM WHITE.

June 22, 1809.

Dear Sir:

You this morning noticed to me, that in my letter of the day before yesterday, my attention had not been drawn to that part of Dr Smith's letter, which mentions, as a striking circumstance, and wishing it accounted for, that in Scripture the definite article is prefixed to the word "angel."

I suppose Dr Smith alludes to a position maintained by some of our best writers, and supposed to have been demonstrated by Dr Allise, that the ancient Jews conceived of their expected Messiah, as having manifested himself to their nation in sundry of the recorded angelic appearances. This fact is affirmed on such respectable testimony, that I can hardly doubt of it; and it makes strongly against the Socinian scheme.

Nevertheless, I do not lay much stress on the definite article, as applying to this point. In Hebrew, the end of it is served by the letter ה. Now in the few passages which I have examined, I do not find it used in such a manner as to discriminate the sense in question. For instance, there are no passages applied as above, other than Is. lxiii. 9, and Mal. iii. 1, the latter part of the verse. In the last mentioned text, the English word is "messenger;" but the Hebrew is מלאך; usually translated angel; which Hebrew word has not the definite ה, in the said two passages. I find it, however, in Gen. xlviii. 16: and might probably find it in other places, if I had time for the search. There is no place where one would look for it sooner, with a view to the distinction in question, than in Ex. iii. 2; because of certain expressions in the latter part of the 6th verse. Yet it is not there.

I have presumed Dr Smith's question to be wholly intended of the Old Testament; for as to the New, it will hardly be thought that the Messiah was spoken of as "the angel," after his incarnation, as in Acts x. 7, and xii. 8. Even before that, even the angel (ὁ ἄγγελος) who appeared to Zacharias says, "I am Gabriel."

These are hasty remarks; but the best occurring.

Yours, affectionately,

Wm WHITE.

V.

(Page 187 ante.)

AN ADDRESS AND A FORM OF PRAYER,

Used in presence of the President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives of the United States; on the occasion of the solemnity produced by the Decease of General Washington, and preparatory to the delivery of an Oration in honour of the Deceased, by Major General Lee, on the 26th January* 1800.

"Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God, in his wise providence, to take out of this world" our beloved brother in Christ, and our ever honoured fellow-citizen, George Washington, formerly president of these United States; and, at the time of his decease, commander-in-chief of the armies of the same; let us bow down our souls in lowly submission, under this afflictive dispensation. Let us offer up our thanksgivings and praises for the good example, for the exalted character, and for the signal services of the illustrious deceased. And let us pray that, through divine grace, we may make a religious improvement of the mournful event commemorated: so that after this transitory life shall be ended, we may rest with the spirits of just men made perfect; and finally may obtain unto the resurrection of life, through Jesus Christ our Lord; at whose second coming in glorious majesty to judge the world, the earth and sea shall give up their dead; and the corruptible bodies of those who sleep in him shall be changed; and made like unto his own glorious body; according to the mighty working whereby he is able to subdue all things unto himself.

"Almighty God; with whom do live the spirits of those who depart hence in the Lord; and with whom the souls of the faithful, after they are delivered from the burthen of the flesh, are in joy and felicity: we give thee hearty thanks for the good examples of all those thy servants, who, having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labours." And herein we especially adore and magnify thy name, for the eminent virtues and the illustrious actions of thy deceased servant, the late commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States. And while we acknowledge thy undeserved mercies, in having given him, at sundry times of difficulty and danger, to the councils and to the armies of this land; we pray that the present season of sensibility may impress us with due gratitude for the fatherly protection, which, through him, has been extended to us by thee, the Supreme Author of all good. May his memory

* The same form of prayer was again used (*mutatis mutandis*), on the 24th of September 1835, on the occasion of commemorating the decease of the Hon. John Marshall, Chief Justice of the United States; and preceding an eulogy on his character, by Horace Binney, Esq.

be an incentive to those who shall come after him, in the presidency, in the command of armies, and in all the employments of the state. And may posterity, while they shall inherit the lustre of his name, enjoy the benefit of his life, in a continuance of the happy consequences of his labours; and in a succession of great and good men, to the glory of thy name, and the prosperity of thy people to the end of time. Finally, we pray "that we, with all those thy servants who have departed this life in the true faith and fear of thy holy name, may rest in thee, and at last have our perfect consummation of bliss, both in body and soul, in thy eternal kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord." Amen.

"O God, whose days are without end, and whose mercies are without number; make us, we beseech thee, sensible of the shortness and the uncertainty of this mortal life;" and may we be resigned to thy will in every event of life and of death; and especially on the present occasion of general loss and grief. We implore the same for thy servant, the afflicted relict of the deceased; and for all allied to him in family or in friendship: beseeching thee that they may be sustained under their sorrows by the promises of thy Word; which encourages us not to sorrow as those who have no hope. And we pray for them, for ourselves, and for a whole mourning nation, that "thy holy spirit may lead us through this vale of misery, in righteousness and holiness before thee, all our days; that when we shall have served thee in our generation, we may be gathered unto our fathers, having the testimony of a good conscience; in the communion of the Catholic Church; in the confidence of a certain faith; in the comfort of a reasonable, religious and holy hope; in favour with thee, our God; and in perfect charity with the world. All which we ask through Jesus Christ our Lord." Amen.

O God, who hast instructed us in thy Holy Word to render honour to whom it is due; we implore thy blessing on the celebration which is to follow. Support in the discharge of this duty thy servant, to whom it is committed. May this tribute of public gratitude and of private friendship obtain a reputation as extensive as that of the great name which it commemorates. May the inhabitants of this land, while with united hearts and voices they proclaim the praises of the assertor of their rights, the defender of their liberties and the vindicator of their laws, be perpetuating a call to virtuous and great achievements. And may all who, like our departed chief, of blessed memory, shall be eminent benefactors of mankind, like him also, find a grateful people honouring them in their lives and in their deaths. Which we ask through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

"Now the God of peace, who brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus Christ, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do his will; working in you that which is well pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom be glory for ever and ever."* Amen.

* Heb. xiii. 20, 21.

VI.

(Page 201 ante.)

ON BUILDING A NEW CHURCH.

Thoughts suggested by the design of building a new Church; and tending to recommend economy in the execution of the design.

A question has been raised whether it be consistent with the spirit of our holy religion, that in the building of churches there should ever be attention paid to magnificence and decoration? And the negative of the question has been thought established by the practice of the apostles and the very early Christians; among whom there were unquestionably no expensive buildings; nor indeed, for a considerable time, any places of worship, other than such as were afforded by the hospitality of individuals.

There seems to me no weight in this argument. And indeed it would extend to prove, that as St Paul preached "in an upper chamber," at a time when it was expedient to conceal the assemblies of the faithful from the jealous eye of persecution, the same should be done now, when no danger threatens; and that because some of the early Christians took shelter in caves, and there exercised their religious rites, the imitating of them in this would be an imitation of their devotion.

No: our Saviour and his apostles have left this matter to times and circumstances; and our proper directory is that discretion which should govern in all the affairs of men; and which clearly dictates, that the end of building a church being the accommodating of a collective body for social worship, all should be made subservient to this; that if the end may be aided by ornament, it may properly be applied; but that when it exacts the sacrifice of utility, it is so far the effect, not of religious sentiment, but of vanity.

Now it seems to me that the grand, the sublime and the beautiful may be applied to a religious use; and the contrary position involves the absurdity of supposing, that devout sentiments are improperly excited in us by the arch of heaven, and by the inviting colour which it displays. In vain it will be said that this is the work of the divine hand, while the other is the effort of human skill. For what but the wisdom of God has endowed mankind with capacity for an imitation (however humble) of his works? And what else implanted a disposition in us to take pleasure in such a display of genius?

For this reason, when I am delighted with poetry, or with music, or with painting, or with architecture—I name them together as kindred arts—I have no more doubt that my sensibility to them is the work of

God, than that this may be said of my organs of sight and hearing: and it follows, that improvements in the last of these arts may laudably be applied to the rendering of the imagination subservient to that religious object; which is also aimed at through the medium of the judgment and of the affections: so that among a people very rich, and especially under a government which makes religion a branch of its policy, the taking of care that the magnificence of churches shall keep pace with that of private dwellings, is a reasonable tribute of gratitude to the bestower of all good.

But when I speak of magnificence and of beauty in architecture, I distinguish between works adorned by those attractive properties, and such as claim them on the mere ground of the expenditures they have occasioned: like a tawdry beau or belle, who estimate their appearance by the expense of their dress, without regard to taste, or to its being fitted to their persons. The science of architecture, like every other science, has fixed principles: and there are certain principles which have stood the test of the criticism of ages; which seems an evidence that they are founded in nature. But there are many of our costly buildings which, if stripped of what was designed as decoration, but is not conformed to any acknowledged standard in that line, would be as plain as any meeting house in which decoration is objected to on the ground of conscientious scruples. Accordingly, if we could afford to erect a church in which skill in architecture were to be called in to aid the higher views of the design, I would be for employing an acknowledged master in the department; and I would appropriate for the purpose three hundred thousand dollars: a sum which I suppose proper, on the ground that at least as much, it is said, will be laid out (no doubt properly) on a church of moderate size, which a wealthy corporation of our communion are now erecting in New York.

But are the vestry of our churches likely to be possessed of the means of such an expenditure as this? They certainly are not; and my inference is, that it will be wise in them to resist every scheme of expense which may be dispensed with. But it may be said, cannot we, at a far less expense than has been stated, indulge the taste for ornamental architecture in a degree? Probably we may: but still, not without a very considerable expense; provided we have recourse to acknowledged skill; instead of being led by those who measure taste by expense, and who substitute their own notions for the principles of a science which they never studied. But if we could command money beyond what is called for by mere utility, we ought to inquire what objects should be accomplished before we lay out a dollar for the gratification of taste. And here, to set aside other matters which might be mentioned, I wonder that a Christian society should expend money in that way, while they are without adequate provision for their aged poor of both sexes; and for the feeding, clothing and instructing of poor children. These are works which are more congenial with our Christian profession than expensive

buildings ; and the latter, without the other, may even be considered as a subject of reproach.

But we have little reason to expect that there will be more subscribed than what a plain building and the necessary lots require. Let us then imagine the case that we contract for work more costly than the subscriptions warrant : and let us inquire what will be the probable consequence of this ?

First, additional subscriptions will be necessary ; and then a great proportion of the subscribers will find their zeal damped (and I think justly) by such expenditures as they may judge superfluous. Next, we shall have a remaining debt, preventing the employment of another minister : a measure which, however evidently proper, will not, I trust, be thought of until the revenue of the new church shall make a clear addition to the revenue of the old. Further, it will retard the long contemplated building of a church for the accommodation of the Northern Liberties. For which purpose, I think it would be proper to keep in bank any moneys which we may collect (if any such there should be) beyond what may be necessary to accomplish our present design, on the most frugal plan. Besides these things, if a debt should remain, it may drive us to the expedient of a lottery ; which is opposed to the principles of some of our people, and would be painful to the feelings of them all ; as the least honourable way, at best, of erecting houses of divine worship. Even in regard to the opinions of people of other religious societies, it may be well to take care that our "good be not evil spoken of." And lastly, if we should ever have recourse to such an expedient, and be successful in obtaining permission for it, there will be in the mean time the alternative of having our ears assailed by the clamours of industrious tradesmen, complaining of the detention of what their labours shall have earned, or of taking up money on the security of individual members of the vestry, provided any will be so liberal as to consent to such a use of their credit : for private security is, I believe, always exacted when money is lent for the use of churches.

My principles on the present subject have been long since adopted by me, as having influences on our Church at large. We live in a country advancing in population and in improvements ; which will require a proportionate increase of the number of buildings for divine worship. Under these circumstances ; and there existing a rivalship of communions ; it is obvious that they who exercise the most moderation in their buildings will find it comparatively easier to accommodate their increasing numbers ; and thus, not only to fix them to their respective communions, but to acquire a great accession of people ; who will avail themselves of what has been provided for them by the frugal zeal of other denominations ; but what is unattainable by their own, unless at an expense which is despaired of. This is a consideration which will have weight with every man who is attached to our ecclesiastical sys-

tem, on grounds which apply to it independently on the style of the building in which its services are performed.

Let it not be supposed that I carry my sentiments to the extent of excluding all regard to beauty in the erecting of an economical building. I would adopt handsome in preference to ugly shapes, in the general structure and in its parts. I would unite utility, beauty and cheapness, where it could be done: and especially what is useful should be made as beautiful as cheapness will permit. But I would not suffer a stroke of work to be done, of which it might be said—This is for ornament, without any reference to use.

Perhaps it may be thought, that as the vestry evidently contemplate a plain building, I might have spared myself the trouble of committing these remarks to paper. But I apprehend, that however correct our intentions, we shall be assailed by importunities for deviation. I have already heard various matters suggested, confessedly without any reference to religious worship, but from the sole view of making the contemplated building an ornament to the city. Now I confess this to be a laudable purpose, if not effected by improper means: but such I consider the incumbering ourselves with debt; and even the expending in ornament of what we actually want for useful purposes of our communion.

These are my sentiments on the subject. They are expressed without a wish that they may have influence further than as the correctness of them may be apparent.

December 24, 1806. WM WHITE.

VII.

(Page 212 ante.)

AN ADDRESS AND A FORM OF PRAYER, AT THE COMMEMORATION OF THE DECEASE OF GENERAL LA FAYETTE.

Brethren: We are assembled for the presenting of a tribute of respect to the memory of General La Fayette—that illustrious person, in whose character our whole country feel a deep interest. You are aware that this national sensibility has been excited by the early part zealously taken by him in defence of our liberties and in the establishment of our independence, and by his exertions, through a long life, in favour of social

virtue and social happiness. Accordingly, let us offer up our thanksgivings to Almighty God for the services of the said deceased; and let us pray, that, through the assistance of divine grace, we may be enabled to make a religious use of the mournful event commemorated.

Great and glorious God, we adore and bless thee for the services of all those who in their respective generations have been useful instruments of thy gracious providence for the accomplishment of public good. Especially we magnify thy name, for the illustrious actions of the eminent person whose decease we are assembled to deplore. May his memory be an incentive to those who are now, or who shall be hereafter, promoted to places of public trust and usefulness. May posterity, while they shall inherit the lustre of his name, enjoy the benefit of his labours, and witness a succession of great and good men, to the glory of thy name and the prosperity of thy people, to the end of time. Finally, we pray, that all who, like the deceased, shall be eminent benefactors to mankind, like him, also, may find grateful people, honouring them in their lives and in their deaths. All these things we ask, in the name and through the merits of thy blessed Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour.

O God, whose days are without end and whose mercies are without number, make us all, we beseech thee, sensible of the shortness and of the uncertainty of this mortal life. May we be resigned to thy will in every event, whether of life or of death. And may thy Holy Spirit lead us through this vale of suffering and of sorrow, in holiness and righteousness before thee, all our days: that when we shall have finished our course, it may be in the confidence of a sure faith, in the comfort of a reasonable and holy hope, in peace with thee our God, and in charity with all mankind. These things we ask, in the name and through the merits of thy Son, our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

O God, who hast instructed us in thy Holy Word to render honour to whom it is due, we implore thy blessing on the celebration which is to follow. Support, in the discharge of the duty, thy servant, to whom it is committed. And may this tribute of public gratitude and of private friendship tend to thy glory, through Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

"Now the God of peace, who brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus Christ, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work, to do his will; working in you that which is well pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom be glory for ever and ever."* Amen.

* Heb. xiii. 10.

VIII.

(Page 226 ante.)

TWO ADDRESSES DELIVERED AT THE SPECIAL CONVENTION OF THE DIOCESE OF PENNSYLVANIA, IN OCTOBER 1826.

Address at the opening of the Convention.

Brethren, the Members of the Convention of the Diocese here assembled:

The call of this body has been in virtue of a power entrusted to your bishop by the constitution. However unquestionable the right, there is responsibility to public opinion in the exercise of it, in relation to a subject so interesting to the cause of religion within the diocese. The motives to the measure have been set forth in the communication to the standing committee; agreeably to which there issued the summonses by that body to the present meeting. The increase of the duties of the episcopacy, their increasing interference with the parochial duties of the bishop, and his advance in years, were the reasons submitted to the committee, and should be borne in mind.

Your bishop, in his said communication, went no further than an exhibition of what he thought the exigency of the case, leaving all attendant circumstances to be provided for by the standing committee, so far as was within their sphere; and beyond this, to the convention when it should be assembled. On the same principle, whatever might be construed an endeavour to give a direction to your proceedings, has been avoided by him. It is his intention to persevere in this line of conduct; especially so far as the contrary might have a bearing on the character or on the qualifications of any individual, until the subject shall be brought before the house of bishops by three precedent measures: an election by this body; their testimonial in favour of the person elected, to be individually signed by the greater number of the members; and another testimonial to be individually signed by the greater number of the members of the house of clerical and lay deputies of the general convention, expected to assemble in this city within a few days, all of which are exacted by the canons.

The forbearance mentioned has not been owing to indifference to the subject. There are several reasons which ought to induce the taking of a deep interest in it; and it is in consequence of solicitude, felt from the beginning, that I proceed to lay before you three points, which have pressed on my mind with especial weight; not as comprehending all the qualifications desirable in the episcopal character, and perhaps essential to any considerable measure of usefulness in it, but being such, as that

deficiency in any one of them would threaten extreme injury to the church within the diocese.

The point to be first mentioned, and certainly the first in importance, is *piety*, manifested by a long perseverance in the profession of Christian obligation, and by a consistent life and conversation. This is a position so manifestly important, as would excuse from further notice of it, but for the expediency of exhibiting it in such a point of view, as that it may have an especial bearing on the occasion. For this reason, when the possession of piety is spoken of, it should be understood of that of the heart, so far as can be judged by the conversation and the conduct, coincident with correct views of the Gospel dispensation. It sometimes happens that with the first impressions of religion, especially when excited in the course of a life of entire forgetfulness of God, there are awakened sensibilities, which, from the want of a proper direction, become the sources of many errors, continuing to be combined with them under the law of association during the whole of succeeding life. In any professor of Christianity this is to be deplored; in the pastor of a congregation, the mischief is more extensive; and in him who is to preside in a large body of his clerical brethren, there is no knowing to what length the deteriorating influence may reach. The subject may remind us of what we learn from St Paul, that with "the gold, the silver and the precious stones" of evangelical piety, there may be "the wood, the hay and the stubble" of matters unauthorized by the word of God. Now whatever tenderness may be due, in consideration of human frailty, yet, if the introduction of such adventitious matters should characterize the bishops of our Church, she will no longer be conformed to the pattern of the primitive church as existing for some centuries after the age of the apostles; nor to that model, as cleared of a load of errors, by the reformation; nor to the same as illustrated in the Church of England, by the characters and the writings of a long series of prelates, of other divines, and of not a few of the learned of the laity, extending to the present day.

The next point in contemplation is the being furnished with such a measure of theological literature as may be shown to be called for by the station of a bishop: and when this qualification is mentioned, there should be considered as implied under the term, acquirements not exclusively ecclesiastical, but called for by such as should be so entitled, in the strict and proper sense. It is a task of some delicacy when the matter in question is now presented; since there may seem implied by the speaker, his claiming of what is called for in his successor. The same reserve may be considered as having been due on the former point. Under that, however, there was considered the saying of St Paul—"it is a small thing to be judged of man's judgment." As to the present point, two answers may be given: first, that in proportion to the deficiency of the present bishop, there is a demand for a supply of it in the choice before you; and, secondly, that at the period of the former choice, since which forty years have passed away, the extreme destitu-

tion of our Church seems to have apologized for a degree of condescension, which would be unjustifiable at the present time; when the person to be elected will have to take his seat, in a body possessed of such a stock of talent and of acquirement, as would render the want of them in the representive of this diocese a lessening of its reputation in the estimation of the general union, and after the lapse of some time, and after the subsiding of present impressions, a permanent subject of mortification to all orders of persons within our bounds.

The remaining point is attachment and conformity to the institutions of our Church, in doctrine, in worship, and in ecclesiastical constitution and government: a sentiment so far from being inconsistent with liberality to forms of profession preferred by our fellow Christians of various denominations, that it is the only ground on which peace and mutual good will between us can be maintained. On this ground, he who addresses you has acted for more than half a century. He thinks that he has found the fruit of it, in the friendships of many wise and pious persons, whose sentiments on some points differ materially from his own: whereas, had their theories been brought into collision, in discourses under the same roofs, there is no knowing in what degree there might have been the excitement of unamiable sensations, nor to what extent the consequences might have been injurious.

Thus the subject appears to him, as connected with Christian discretion, and with a view to utility. But it comes under a more serious aspect when taken up in its relation to the integrity of divine truth. While we believe that the doctrines of grace, as contained in our articles, are precisely what were professed by the whole body of professing Christians during the first three centuries, we are not ignorant that at no very long period afterwards there were engrafted on them speculations, the fruit of misguided ingenuity; that these were cultivated and enlarged, during the reign of succeeding errors, especially among the subjects of some of the monastical institutions, and maintained their influence in connexion with the same, and that when there was an abandonment of the latter, at the reformation, the others were consummated and fastened on various forms of profession, but not admitted within the authorized institutions of the Church of England.

Besides regard to integrity of Christian faith, the Church lays great stress on the worshipping of God in a prescribed form of prayer. We believe we have inherited this, first from the temple worship divinely instituted; then, from the example of our blessed Lord and his apostles, who attended the appointed prayers as well of the synagogues as of the temple; and, subsequently, from the practice of the primitive church in the best ages; during which, as we conceive, there was no period, when every officiating minister was tolerated in the utterance of the immediate suggestions of his own mind in public prayer, although we do not allege that there was the same form obligatory at all times and in all places.

In addition, we have received the three orders of the ministry, insti-

tuted by the apostles, and universally retained for about fifteen hundred years from the beginning; and while we pass no judgment on what we consider the more modern ministrations of our fellow Christians, we do not think ourselves at liberty to admit them within our pale.

The enumerated particulars have been cherished by us; first, during our dependence on our mother Church of England, and since, from the beginning of our present ecclesiastical organization. Could it be supposed probable that there will be hereafter a bishop of this diocese who shall either openly oppose himself to the recited properties of our communion, or endeavour to undermine them insidiously and by degrees, heavy will be his responsibility. Should his talents be equal to the meditated undertaking, he may distract and divide the Church; but he will not consummate his work: "and the old paths will be still sought" by those who have walked in them, and to whom they have been endeared, and who may, perhaps, by a steady perseverance, regain their rights, after experience of the result, and of a manifestation of the spirit which has produced it.

Of the body now assembled, it is trusted, by him who addresses them, that they will not lose sight of the shape in which the recited points have been brought before them. It has been the disclosing of a solicitude resting on the mind of the speaker, not merely as applicable to the present crisis, but as reaching the concerns of the diocese when his voice will be heard in them no more; and perhaps, while it may still be heard, either by the failure of a choice at the present meeting, or by the non-compliance with it when made. Having been so long occupied in sustaining the principles which have been detailed, and being desirous of continuing his testimony, whenever it shall be especially called for, he has conceived of the present as an opportunity not to be unimproved. Could he foresee that, during his episcopacy, either now or at any future time, the stated points will be either dismissed or disregarded, he would make some such request as that of Hagar in the wilderness, in reference to what has been so long an object of his anxieties, of his prayers and of his exertions: "Let me not see the death of the child!"

Brethren: I will no longer detain you from the work for which you are assembled, but shall offer up my silent prayers that the result may be such as shall redound to the glory of God, and to the peace and prosperity of the Church. Next to this, it is my desire and my prayer that your deliberations may be conducted in such a spirit as would have borne to be laid open to the Searcher of Hearts during that celebration of the eucharistic sacrifice in which we were occupied in the morning of yesterday.

WM WHITE.

Address at the conclusion of the Convention.

Brethren:

In consideration of the result of the business on which you have been called together, and aware of its having appeared to many of you that

the call of a special convention might have been dispensed with, either by the presentment of the subject to the annual convention in May last, or by reserving of it to the convention expected in May of the next year; I beg your patience while there shall be accounted for the state of my mind on these points. Let the reasons which influenced me pass for what they may be worth; but for the purity of my motives, I throw myself on the judgment of your charity. In answer to the first part of the question, I give the following narrative.

Within a considerable time before my adoption of the measure—perhaps more than a year—I had heard of some discourse, and even of some measures, tending to the choice of an assistant bishop. Since the last convention some of my brethren of the clergy intimated to me their dissatisfaction with such discourse and proceedings, carried on without a reference to what might be the state of my mind on the subject. Concerning this circumstance I had nothing to answer: but as to the matter itself, I said, that, considering my age and the weight of my engagements, I ought not to entertain an objection to the design. After a development of the exigency of the case, there was expressed to me the opinion, that the Church generally would appreciate the reasons of the measure in question if the proposal of it were to proceed from me; but that there would be reluctance to the giving of a beginning to it from the motive of respect. To the taking of a lead in the matter, the gentlemen with whom I conversed, and who, I believe, had not been engaged in any measure or in any precedent discourse alluded to, were decidedly averse. For some time I hesitated as to the suggestion of my being the proposer. My reason for this is a confession now drawn from me by the occasion, and by regard to truth.

It has pressed on my mind during the last few years—it has not been so during the general course of my episcopacy—that possibly a candidate might be brought forward, whose disposition to something in contrariety to the principles of our Church would not be known to a considerable proportion of our clergy, and much less to the greater number of our lay members, coming from different sections of the state, and having little access to sources of information concerning characters; and that, in consequence, I might be put to the disagreeable predicament of declining to join in the consecration of such a person; leaving that duty to any of my brethren, if there should be any, who are either not so scrupulous on the subject, or are not possessed of the facts which may have had such an influence on my mind, and which ought to be of such a character that, for my refusing of a participation, I could answer to God and to the Church. In proof that there may be reason for the refusal, I refer to the solemn form of words which the bishop elect is required to take on his tongue, before the advancement of a step in the act of consecration. How can any bishop, in his official character, knowing the intendment of the form, conscientiously accept of the promise, with the understanding

that the promiser has no intention of performance, according to the obvious meaning of the words?

Let it be noticed, that the state of my mind, now disclosed, had no reference to any individual, and that at the time of the conversation referred to no person was contemplated, so far as I know, to be proposed as the assistant bishop.

After considering the subject in every point of view in which it presented itself, I became apprehensive that in shrinking from responsibility, on the ground that has been stated, it might be evidence of more regard to personal comfort than to the wants of the diocese which prompted to the course which has been pursued.

Whether it would have been the best to have delayed the business to the next annual convention, is a matter in which I have no concern. The standing committee have acted on the principles set forth in their document addressed to the churches, which to my mind have considerable weight, although there are considerations on the other side not to be disregarded.

Although my calling you together has been ineffective as to the object designed by it, there ought to be the effect of satisfying the whole diocese that I have not yet the frequent infirmity of age, inducing reluctance to yield to providential entailments on it, and to surrender a portion at least of the rights and of the influence of which it may be supposed that long habit had rendered me unreasonably retentive. From the statements made, you will have perceived that it was a different cause which produced in me reluctance to the giving a beginning to the measure of electing an assistant bishop. Having dismissed my first impressions, from the apprehension that they may have been in some degree selfish, I shall consider myself excused in future from whatever has a bearing on the same object; but will not interpose any hindrance to the endeavours of others for the accomplishment of it.

There is a claim which I shall think myself entitled to make on the indulgence of this diocese, and with the greater weight, in consequence of the result of your deliberations. It is that in proportion to what you have witnessed of increasing calls on the episcopacy, seen in connexion with my increasing weight of years, and taking into the account my large extent of local labour, you will not complain of proportionally decreasing exertion, induced by the many relations in which I stand, and probably by the decay of bodily strength, if not of mental energy. This indulgence I may the more reasonably expect, if you should find in me what I purpose, with the aid of divine grace, that so long as my faculties shall be continued to me, my cares and my counsels are not wanting in any matter that may concern the integrity, the peace, the prosperity of the Church; and, especially, by bearing my protest against whatever may be an inroad on the system in doctrine, or in discipline, or in ecclesiastical constitution and government. Not only so, without founding any pretensions on personal merits, but availing myself only of a long course of

labours, I now consider myself as addressing not only you, but the members of the Church in the diocese, when both myself, and all you, my juniors, shall be laid in the dust.

Brethren—With these sentiments, and with my wishes for the safe return of the distant members of your body to their families and to their churches, I bid you an affectionate farewell.

WM WHITE.

IX.

(Page 228 ante.)

LETTERS AND EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS TO BISHOP HOBART.

Of Lay Baptism; and Lawrence's Work on that subject.

Philadelphia, September 4, 1806.

Dear Sir:

An opportunity offering of returning your books, I write this letter to accompany them; in which it is incumbent on me, in the first place, to thank you for the satisfaction, though not for any conviction which I have derived from the perusal of these volumes. Mr Lawrence appears to me a very able disputant: and as he seems to have made the most of his cause, it would be very agreeable to me to be in possession of his work. As I cannot procure it in this city, I shall be obliged to you to purchase it for me in New York, if it can be obtained there.

In what I am to address to you, let me not be understood as setting up the plea of an inherent right in a lay Christian to baptize. I believe it to be within the sphere of ecclesiastical legislation to direct that administrations of this sort shall be by the clergy only. And when such restriction obtains, I consider it as a matter of mere ecclesiastical prudence how far there may be such a relaxation, as to admit to communion persons who have been baptized irregularly as to the administrator, but duly as to the element and the form of words made use of: such permission being grounded on the distinction—"quod non debet fieri factum valet."

In attending to Mr Lawrence's axioms, definitions and propositions, I

find them grounded on the supposition of a sense in the commission given in Matt. xxviii. 19, 20, not to be gathered from the passage separately considered, but for which we must have recourse to some other passages, not making the commission pertinent to his purpose.

The commission goes no further than to the discipline, through the medium of the rite of baptism. Even to prove that the commission was to extend beyond the apostles, it is necessary to take in the annexed promise; which however is full to that effect. But neither from the commission nor from the promise do we gather that the former was to be transmitted to successors; and it might be, for any thing which the words express, that all the powers vested in the apostles were to be by them handed to all whom they should disciple and initiate. How then does it appear that there is to be a ministry in succession? Certainly not otherwise than from the original commission, taken in connection with some previous intimations of our Saviour; and with those passages in which we find that the apostles ordained others, and instructed them to do the like: thus instituting a succession of pastors to be continued to the end of time.

If this institution of the ministry was such as absolutely to exclude lay baptism, the same ought to appear, either in some express declaration, or in practice explanatory of the design. For unless something of this sort is to be found, there seems nothing in the subject itself which makes it incongruous for those discipled under the commission to associate with themselves succeeding converts, as is done by various bodies of men in other matters.

That there is any such declaration will not be said. But I go further, and express the sentiment that there is considerable evidence of a contrary permission. Philip's baptizing of the Samaritans and of the eunuch seems to me in point. It will be said that Philip was a deacon. But can it be imagined that an order instituted for the purpose of "serving tables" should, in the very infancy of its existence, have the offices of the higher orders of the ministry committed to them. I do not deny either the right or the prudence of allowing what has been subsequently allowed to this lowest order of the clergy. All I contend for is, that at the first institution of the order there could have been no difference between them and laymen, in regard to the preaching of the word and the administering of the sacraments. There is no inconsistency with this in the case of Stephen. He might have had the gift of miracles, without a designation to any order of the ministry; as he might without the same have disputed with the Libertines, the Cyrenians and the others. No doubt he declared to them the Christian faith. But Aquila and Priscilla, without being ministers of the word, did the same to Apollos; and we shall be agreed, that when there is a sinfulness in lay instruction, it results, not from the lay character itself, but from some circumstance which makes it a violation of order.

Another passage worthy of attention is where St Peter, in consequence

of the pouring out of the Holy Ghost on Cornelius and his household, commanded (or instructed) them to be baptized. The passage seems to imply that the baptismal act was performed, not by St Peter, but by some of the six brethren who accompanied him; concerning whom we have not the least intimation that they were of the ministry. And, although the negative cannot be proved, it is very improbable that, in this infancy of the apostolic ministry, there should have been admitted to it others, without any note of distinction from the brethren generally.

The same remark applies to what we read of the men of Cyprus and Cyrene, and of the conversion which they wrought at Antioch. Were some of these of the clergy, without its being noted? This seems very improbable. Or had their converts "turned to the Lord" in any other way than through the medium of the rite of baptism? This seems not quite consistent with Scripture language. It is true there was a mission of Barnabas to that people, not, for any thing that appears, to baptize them, but to strengthen them in the faith; for which there was the more occasion, if, as I suppose, there were none of the ministry amongst those who had informed them of the faith in Christ.

I might be disposed to be distrustful of what I gather from these passages, if it did not appear strongly countenanced by evidences of lay baptism in the early church. For there seems to me to apply here what we say in favour of episcopacy, that there could not so soon have happened such a deviation from primitive practice, without at least some considerable opposition to the change.

What Mr Lawrence quotes from St Ignatius seems to me inapplicable. His words apply, not to lay baptism, but to the act done in opposition to authority; and they declare not the invalidity, but the irregularity of the act.

Mr Lawrence has thought it worth his while to quote a passage from Hermas. This writer foolishly supposes that the departed righteous, of the time prior to Christianity, were baptized by the apostles and other first teachers in the intermediate state. But will the choice which this visionary man has made of ministerial agents in an imaginary employment, prove that, even in his day, the same act was not occasionally performed on the living by others than the ministry? Surely not.

Mr Lawrence considers Tertullian's testimony in favour of lay baptism as his private sentiment. To me it seems a testimony to the occasional practice of his day. If it were not, and he has asserted a falsehood, or even a mistaken opinion, tending to introduce a corrupt custom; it is surprising, considering the estimation bestowed on his books, that none had so much concern for the church's peace as to guard her against his error.

Far be it from me to claim any weight in favour of the *opinion* of a council who made a canon against a Christian's eating with a Jew. But although I lay no stress on the *faith* of the council of Eliberis, yet I give some weight to their *testimony*. Judging from the principles of

human nature, I cannot suppose that a rite performed in the view of the world had at that period materially degenerated from the original institution : and it is very improbable that the practice was one way in Spain, and the opposite in the Christian world in general.

The only specious appearance before the council of Nice, and for some time after, of any thing prohibiting of lay baptism in all cases, is in the instance of St Cyprian, and those who thought with him. But I think it is appearance only. Cyprian's argument against heretical baptism rests on the ground of the malignity of the heresy. If some of his reasonings seem to embrace the case of orthodox lay baptism, this was not the matter before him ; and it is common for disputants to express themselves unguardedly in relation to other points than those they treat of. As to Basil's representation of the sentiments of Cyprian, above a century after he wrote, I lay little stress on it. After all, if Cyprian did adopt the opinion of the invalidity of lay baptism, I distinguish between that and the general testimony of the African church. For in the determinations made against the baptismal heretics by the council of Carthage, I do not recollect any thing that goes to this point.

Mr Lawrence makes very light of the story of the boy Athanasius. But it should be remembered that stories made current by credulity are generally accommodated in their circumstances to the customs of the day. It is certain that Socrates, reciting the story from Rufinus, omits among other circumstances that of the boyish baptism. But supposing, what cannot be proved, that the omission arose from any other cause than abbreviation ; supposing also Rufinus credulous in the admission of the circumstance ; and supposing (as I think) that such a puerile play ought not to have been held of importance : yet this extravagance could hardly have arisen without some colour to it in the occasional practice of lay baptism in the Church : and if it had, Socrates would not, I think, have failed to note this grievous instance of incorrectness in Rufinus. Far from this, he bestows a general approbation on the story, though he does not relate it all.

In regard to the distinction between heretical baptism and that of laymen strictly speaking, it is worthy of remark, and what I find nothing to meet in Mr Lawrence, that the numerous sects of heretics, antecedent to the Novatians, had no consecrated bishops ; and yet their baptisms, on conformity to the church, were admitted. This is too wide a field to be entered on in a letter ; but I perceive extremities resulting from Mr Lawrence's principles. It is well known that the bishops of the Catholic Church pronounced the ordinations of the heretics null in as unqualified terms as could have been devised. And although they afterwards admitted them, on their conformity, to their several grades ; yet it was on the supposition that the commission then given perfected a former ceremony, otherwise insufficient. But if you set aside this principle, or contend for an efficient consecration of a bishop on the mere

ground of the service being performed by one duly consecrated himself; and even by this saying to the former with the imposition of hands "Be thou a bishop;" observe the consequences. I might suppose various cases; and especially the mischiefs which might result from a licentious bishop putting himself in the condition ascribed to the ordainers of Novatian; and in that state capable of any extravagance. Or suppose that such a man as the ex-bishop of Autun had taken it into his head, during the triumph of atheism, to consecrate the officers of those clubs of which we have heard so much from Professor Robinson and the Abbe Baruel; some of whom, if I recollect rightly, assumed the names of the Christian ministry: would such persons be valid bishops, sufficient for the handing down of the succession? I think they would, on Mr Lawrence's principles; and therefore, before we admit these principles, let us be aware of what they lead to.

At the council of Nice the only disorders which they undertook to redress were the heresy of Arius and the difference of usage as to Easter. On the supposition of so notorious a corruption as Mr Lawrence conceives lay baptism to be, and that countenanced recently by nineteen bishops in council, can you believe that so venerable a body as that of Nice would have passed it over without a censure?

After that council, and during the fourth century, the testimonies in favour of occasional lay baptism outweigh, in my mind, those against it. Jerom is very express; and Mr Lawrence's charge of inconsistency seems fully refuted by Mr Bingham. St Austin's "solemus audire" conveys to me, as strongly as almost any words, the idea of ordinary occurrence.

But I forbear to go further into the testimonies of these times; and pass to the ground on which the subject rests in the Church of England and our own.

The rubrics, concerning presentation after private baptism, presume that this had been by a lawful minister; and very wisely; because every law should presume that other laws, coming into view, would be complied with; and yet, when the questions to the sponsors are set down, there is evidently a designed distinction in them, between what are essential to the ordinance, which are the matter and the form, and what stands on ecclesiastical regulation, which is the description of the administrator. The same distinction is studiously maintained in the rubric after the office. But the question occurs—suppose it appears from the answers, that the child has been baptized (no matter as to the correctness of the term) by a layman; what is to be done? Here lies the only difficulty with me. The conditional form was not intended for the case. The form of admission seems presumptive of all being done in due order. And yet there is no direction for the repetition of the ceremony; which there should have been if that had been intended.

What light is to be gathered then from the practice? After a careful consideration of this, my conviction is complete, that no re-baptization

(if you will allow the term) was to take place. There is abundant evidence that King James, who was the introductor of the order for a lawful minister, had no idea of requiring repetition in the event of irregularity in that respect. And of the many who, at the time, must have received lay baptism, I have never read of any person who was required to submit to a more correct administration of the ordinance. At the restoration what numbers must there have been who, having been baptized by ministers of different sects during the troubles, afterwards joined the national Church, without further invitation! After the revolution, and at the time, I believe, when the subject had been brought into controversy by Mr Lawrence, it was deliberately determined, in a conference at Lambeth, by the two archbishops and all the bishops then in town, and that unanimously, "that lay baptism should be discouraged as much as possible; but if the essentials had been preserved in a baptism by a lay hand, it was not to be repeated." And these words are said to be taken from papers under the hand of both the archbishops. There might be added the notoriety of consecrations and ordinations by the English prelates, of persons known by them to have received no other than what their church considers as lay baptism: and pre-eminent among them is Archbishop Secker.

Here I will take occasion to note what I conceive to be a defect in Mr Lawrence's system. He repeatedly declines the subject how far the bishops of the Christian church have the power of authorizing lay baptism. Now if you will assume the point, which he refuses to deny, there seems little difference between explicit authorizing, and continued and understood permission. The whole question becomes changed from the ground of divine right to that of ecclesiastical regulation. In this event permission seems to amount to authorizing. It would be so in civil matters; why not in ecclesiastical?

On the whole, I am convinced that both the rubrics and the practice are adverse to re-baptization. But the question is still unsatisfied in regard to what is to be done in certain cases which may occur. As to children baptized by ministers of other denominations, it is not probable that there will be application made for the admission of any of them to our church, otherwise than through the rite of confirmation or that of baptism: and in neither of these cases would there be any difficulty with me. But in the event of the presentation of a child baptized by our private form, and by any other than a lawful minister, I confess myself as yet uncertain as to the line of conduct to be taken.

On consulting Archdeacon Sharpe, whom I consider as the best writer within my knowledge on the rubrics and the canons of the Church of England, I find him aware of the same difficulty. He is express against re-baptization, as being contrary to the practice of the early church, and not intended in his own. He advises his clergy to conduct themselves agreeably to the directions given at the end of the short treatise, "Concerning the Ceremonies of the Church," annexed to the preface of the

English liturgy. This is removing the difficulty from the officiating clergy to a higher authority; which, however, ought to be exercised agreeably to rule and principle.

I stated to you, in a former letter, what I thought a very serious objection to Mr Lawrence's theory: its rendering of the succession altogether uncertain, on account of the great number of consecrators who, on his principles, were never members of the Christian church. His distinction for the avoiding of the difficulty, in which, if I rightly recollect, you have followed him in your Notes on Dr Linn, is, I still think, untenable: you see even his friend Dr Hickes deserts him in this matter.

These are the sentiments which have occurred to me on the subject of your book. I give them with respect towards the sentiments of others; and remain your affectionate brother,

Rev. John H. Hobart, D.D. WM WHITE.

P.S. In regard to the uncertainty in which I remain as to a particular point, it may be proper to mention what, on the whole, I think the most likely to be the thing intended. It is, that persons baptized by other than lawful ministers should not be presented, but left in that state till confirmation. This seems to have been the opinion of the English bishops, as expressed by Mr Bingham, in his epistle dedicatory to his second treatise. I am aware of all Mr Lawrence has said on this point: but the uniformity of the practice under the rubrics, and that from the beginning, is an insuperable objection to his interpretation. In regard to the opinion of the bishops, what there may be in regard to that of the Bishop of Exeter, intimated by Mr Lawrence, I know not; but cannot admit the idea, that what a man of Mr Bingham's eminence has affirmed of a body in general, and with their knowledge, is substantially incorrect.

P.S. It gave me great satisfaction to learn from the papers that the degree of D.D. had been conferred to you; and I congratulate you on the occasion.

Of Dr Hickes's Treatise on the Christian Priesthood.

Philadelphia, October 30th, 1806.

Dear Sir:

I return your two volumes of Dr Hickes, with thanks for the loan of them. Indeed, I am ashamed that I had been so long without having read a work of so much celebrity. The perusal has confirmed my opinion of the author, that he was a learned, an ingenious, a sincere, but, in some points, a mistaken man; and therefore I cannot send you back the work without intimating to you the general tenor of my objections to some leading matters, in regard to which I hope that you will not only

consider them fully, before you finally adopt them, but be aware of the consequences to which they lead.

The part of the work which I have particularly in view, is that entitled "The Christian Priesthood asserted;" the leading sentiment of which is, that a bishop and a presbyter are "priests" in the Levitical sense of the words; that is, each of them are "Ιερευς" or "Sacerdos." For as to the word "priest," it is correct on the ground of either systems, being the word "Πρεσβυτερος" englished, and yet used as the translation of the Greek and Latin words above mentioned.

Can you be seriously satisfied with Dr Hickes's conjectural reason for the not calling the Christian clergy Ιερεις, in the New Testament? Had the cause of the reserve been such as Dr Hickes imagines—respect to the Jewish prejudices so long as the temple worship was in being—surely the cause had ceased when St John wrote his Gospel, which was long after the destruction of Jerusalem; and there are many places in which the change of language might have been seasonably insinuated. Supposing a reason could be assigned, though I cannot imagine any, to this omission of the evangelist, was it not high time when Barnabas, when Hermas, when Clement, when Ignatius and when Justin wrote, that the new name should appear? In the writings of all these authors, there is reference more or less to the persons vested with the ministerial character, but never are they designated as "Ιερευς;" unless, indeed, like Daillé, we should so apply the word as it stands in a particular passage of St Ignatius, and which Daillé accordingly alleged as an argument against the genuineness of his epistle. But what says his learned vindicator, Bishop Pearson? He impliedly admits the validity of the objection, on the supposition that the sense given by the objector to the passage were the true one. But this he positively, and with great reason, denies, as Dr Hammond, in answer to another writer, had done before him.

I confidently express my opinion, that for one hundred years after the destruction of the temple, the date to which the reason of the reserve is limited, there is no evidence of a Christian minister's being called "Ιερευς" or "Sacerdos." Although these words were introduced not long afterwards, yet they were used sparingly for a while: and when they became a part of the established phraseology of the Church, I cannot help thinking that it was accompanied by a change of sentiment, comprehending the seeds of the errors, which became so deplorably prevalent in the succeeding ages. So far was the change of language from being complete when Tertullian wrote, that, having used the words "summus sacerdos," he explains himself by adding, "qui est episcopus," which would have been unnecessary some time afterwards.

What I have said concerning "priest," may be applied, in repect to the same tract of time, to "sacrifice;" distinguishing it, however, from oblation, which Dr Hickes does not, although the doing so is frequent among writers, and the distinction is obvious in Leviticus. If there be any exception to my propositions, it is in what Dr Hickes has cited from

Justin Martyr, who wrote a very few years within the period mentioned. Concerning this venerable author I have to remark, that although his language, strictly taken, applies to material sacrifice, yet he elsewhere speaks as if there could be no Christian sacrifice but that of the heart. Hence some have not scrupled to accuse him of inconsistency. But this I avoid, if there be any expedient to reconcile him to himself: and this seems to me to have been well done, with the exclusion of material sacrifice, by Dr Waterland, to whom I refer you on the point. Certain it is, that Clemens Alexandrinus, Irenæus and Tertullian, who wrote not many years after Justin, speak very strongly of there being no other sacrifices than holy dispositions of the mind. And that these should be designated by Justin, under the name of a material offering accompanying them, may be the easier conceived, as the like is done in Scripture, for instance where the alms of Cornelius are said to have come up for a memorial, meaning not surely the alms of themselves, but the mental benevolence from which they derived their value.

It seems to me that the remark concerning "priest" and "sacrifice" may be extended to the word "altar." There are indeed some passages in St Ignatius which speak of "altar," in a form that looks more like his having a material altar in view, than any passage that appears in any other quarter. They may bear this sense, but they may also bear the metaphorical, which I prefer, on the considerations, that nothing could have been more natural than for Christians to take their metaphor from the Old Testament economy; that, if the contrary interpretation be correct, Ignatius is the only instance within the time of which we are speaking of such a use of the word; and that "priest" (ἱερεὺς) being correlative to "altar," I cannot otherwise account for his never applying of the former word to Christian ministers, although he has occasion to speak of them so often. I feel more satisfaction in the opinion now expressed, than in joining with Mosheim, who says, that "the question concerning the authenticity of Ignatius's epistles is embarrassed with many difficulties;" or with our judicious Jortin, who "hesitates to affirm that they have undergone no alteration at all."

On the subject generally, there has been a passage quoted from St Clement, although I forget whether Dr Hickes notices it. To me the passage, which is in ch. 40, 41, speaks merely the language of comparison, applied to the single point of every man's discharging his official duty in the proper time and place. On reading formerly the use made of it by Mr Johnson in his "Unbloody Sacrifice," I had the curiosity to look into Bona, and found the zeal of the Romish cardinal less in this respect than that of the Protestant presbyter: the former not citing Clement to his purpose, which might have been expected, had the passage been applicable in his opinion.

Let me not be misunderstood, in regard to the words spoken of, as if I objected altogether to the use of them as applied to the Christian Church. There are so many circumstances in her economy analogous to that of

the law, that such a use seems natural and unexceptionable: and therefore I join with Mr Hooker (page 101) in saying: "the names themselves may be retained without sin, in respect of that proportion which things established by our Saviour have unto them which are abrogated: and so, throughout all the writings of the ancient fathers, we see that the words which were do continue; the only difference is that, whereas before they had a literal, they now have a metaphorical use, and are so many notes of remembrance unto us, that what they did signify in the letter is accomplished in the truth." Yes, let us in moderation use the words, but let them be understood in metaphor, meaning this as opposed to the letter and not to the reality, which is not injured by the distinction. But when the words are taken literally, we may learn from the case of Dr Hickes to what mistakes they lead, as in his making of Christian ministers, intercessors, mediators and expiators.

In what sense are ministers intercessors for their flocks, in which these may not be intercessors for them also? St Paul in several places asks those whom he addresses to pray for him, and in one place he hopes, as the effect of their prayers, that he may be restored to them the sooner. There is no notice in the New Testament of more than "one mediator between God and man." The Jewish priesthood was different in this respect from the Christian ministry. Under the law, the sacrifice or the oblation was brought by the worshipper to the priest, and though there was, doubtless, exacted sincerity in the former, yet the act of sacrificing was performed exclusively by the latter. Analogous to this is the mass of the Romish Church, in which the sacrifice is performed entirely by the priest, it not being held necessary that the people should understand a syllable of what is said. But what is there like this in the worship of our Church? Or what in the remains which we possess of the early Church? Certainly nothing: for in both the language of the service shows that the minister is the mouth of the congregation, who are supposed not only to say "amen" at the conclusion, but to accompany him through the whole. And as to ministerial expiation, it seems to me not only an utterly inadmissible idea, but particularly alien from the service of the eucharist, to which it is especially applied by Dr Hickes, and those who think with him: for it seems agreed on all hands, that this holy ordinance answers not to sacrifice of expiation, but to that of the peace-offerings, which are never said to make atonement, but, on the contrary, suppose the worshipper in a state of reconciliation. I forbear to dilate on the consequences of our leading of the people to believe, that at every celebration of the Lord's Supper we are making atonement for sin. No; let it be a commemoration of an atonement made once for all: an interest in which is to be judged of by every man, according to his consciousness of what he is and does.

I will give you, as briefly as I can, my sense of the texts which Dr Hickes has enlisted in his service.

His first is Matthew v. 23, 24. Now if we were to suppose our Sa-

viour speaking in language accommodated not to an existing, but to a future economy, which however seems very unreasonable, yet it would be evident that the passage is then inconsistent with Dr Hickes's supposed reserve of our Saviour on this subject. For although Dr Hickes truly remarks, that the sermon on the Mount was to the Lord's disciples, yet, as annotators notice, the term must be understood with a latitude, since it is said, on the finishing of the discourse, "the multitude were astonished at his doctrine." By the disciples, were accordingly meant those generally who had received his instructions. Where then would have been the wisdom of the supposed secrecy concerning a new altar and a new priesthood to be in due time set up?

The same remark applies to another of Dr Hickes's texts—that of Heb. xiii. 10. Here, it seems, the secret was divulged to the whole body of Hebrew Christians, in the very teeth of all their prejudices. But no: that the sacrifice of the altar spoken of could not have been the eucharist is evident in the circumstance that this has nothing answering even in a spiritual sense to those sacrifices in which the bodies of the victims "were burnt without the camp." But I refer you to Dr Hammond for an explanation of that text.

In Romans xv. 15, 16, there is a noble figure, the beauty of which is very much lessened if we depart from the usual translation and interpretation, of the offering being of the persons of the Gentiles, and if we apply it to their eucharist or to their devotions generally.

In 1 Corinthians ix. 13, there is a parallel drawn between Jewish priests and Christian ministers, in the single point of their being alike entitled to a maintenance. What is more common than in the making of a comparison, where there is nothing common to the subjects, except the circumstance for which the comparison is made?

In 1 Corinthians x. 20, 21, it is sufficient to the apostle's reasoning if the bread and wine of the eucharist are an appointed memorial of the body and blood of Christ. For, then, the partaking of them is inconsistent with the partaking of heathen sacrifice.

Dr Hickes's remarks on "ποιεν" are at best too slight a ground on which to erect a theory. Besides, his explanation of it, as applied to the eucharist, seems fully satisfied by the idea of an oblation in that ordinance.

He understands an expression in 1 Peter ii. 9, as synonymous with a kingdom of priests, or a priestly government. But the passage receives a different interpretation from Revelations i. 6, which makes priests in the accommodated sense intended of all the people of the seven churches. It seems to me that there is no explaining of those passages but in allusion to the eminent holiness which Christianity exacts, and the dignity of character which it bestows. And these are coincident with the apostle's train of sentiment in the passage first mentioned.

We have heard much of the Epistle to the Hebrews, as describing a prefiguration of the Christian priesthood in that of the law. But the analogy there traced is declared to be accomplished in the priesthood of

Christ: that is, in his sacrifice of the cross, and his presentation of it in heaven. The part of the epistle alluded to has no reference to the Christian ministry, unless on the principle of a continued priestly offering of the true atonement, as is pretended in the mass. But this must be proved through some other medium, for there is nothing of it in the epistle.

Dr Hickes cites Revelations v. 8 and viii. 3. But was it unobserved by him that all matters relating to the Christian church in that book are figuratively represented under terms of the Jewish economy? The scene is laid in the temple; the names of the Israelitish tribes are ascribed to Christian people; the martyred saints repose under the altar; and, in short, all the circumstances are accommodated to the figure.

In regard to Dr Hickes's texts generally, it may be remarked, that his interpretation destroys the ground of the reserve supposed by him. If his interpretation be correct, a new sacrifice, a new priesthood, and a new altar were explicitly declared, and there was no reason against making the names correspond with the subjects. But if that interpretation be wrong, I appeal to you whether, at least after the destruction of Jerusalem, there might not be expected from an apostle or some apostolic man—I need not say an explicit declaration, but at least an intimation of the intended change, and that it should not have been left to be discovered by human ingenuity after the lapse of above a century.

And let me remark on what different ground the question stands from that between Episcopacy and Presbytery. According to the pretensions of the latter, a change took place all at once in all parts of the world, and affecting rights and duties in daily exercise, and all without opposition or even historic notice. Such a change could never have happened among mankind, constituted as we see them. But it is otherwise in regard to new names, easily reconciled by analogy, perhaps introduced by writers of celebrity, by them used at first metaphorically and sparingly, with an intermixture of the old; the change at the same time wearing the specious appearance of a tendency to the increase of piety; however afterwards made the instrument of the most inordinate ambition.

In all here said, I have been aware of the solemn caution given by Dr Hickes to Christian ministers not to lessen the dignity of their calling. But if it is the scriptural definition of the Jewish high priest, that he was "ordained from among men for things pertaining to God," is it less honourable, as Dr Outram is represented by Dr Hickes saying of the Christian minister, that he is "ordained by God for things pertaining to men?" And is not the superiority of the ministry of the latter, in comparison of that of the former, sufficiently supported by the comparative merits of their respective dispensations?

When Dr Hickes pronounced it disgraceful in a minister of the Church of England to reject priesthood, sacrifice and altar, in the strict and proper sense, why did he not criminate the Church herself? That neither sacrifice nor altar is found in her liturgy is evident. And as to the word "priest," that she considers it as "πρεσβυτερος," with an English termi-

nation, appears in the circumstance, that in the Latin Prayer Book, which is of equal authority with the English; "Priest" is not "Sacerdos," but Presbyter; this, even in the sacramental service, which in the estimation of Dr Hickes and those who think with him, is in the most eminent degree sacerdotal.

I have already intimated that I distinguish between sacrifice and oblation. And, therefore, I never could perceive any reason in the objection which some have made to that part of our consecration of the elements, in which we offer them to the Father, as typical of his blessed Son's body and blood. On this point of oblation, the testimony of the apostolic Clement is express; and it seems involved in the act of our Saviour, when, in the original institution, he invoked a blessing on the elements, in which act there must have been a religious presentation of them.

To me, indeed, it seems surprising, that the very pains which some authors have taken to show the eucharist answerable to the מנחה under the law, did not show at the same time that it cannot answer to the זבח of the same economy, which always involved the taking of animal life. And there is a consideration which should call our attention to the distinction. It is the countenance which may be given by the latter word to the gross ideas founded on our Saviour's calling the bread and wine his body and blood. From the conjunction of this error, with that of considering the eucharistic service a sacrifice, there seems to me to arise, by a natural train of sentiment, the monstrous opinion of the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass.

I beg you to remark, in your reading, how authors puzzle themselves to frame a definition of sacrifice after they have lost sight of that essential property of it—the death of the victim. Mr Johnson has recited a variety of definitions, all of which seem grounded on no other circumstances than their suiting the theories of their respective authors. Bishop Pearce says he has seen "almost hundreds of definitions," and, after all, I am sorry to say of this ingenious prelate, that he seems to me to have chosen or made one principally accommodated to a favourite point with him—the excluding of the passover from the account of sacrifice.

When I require the death of the victim as essential to this rite, I am not ignorant of the criticisms on the Greek word "θυσια." But I have nothing to do with them. My stress is on the Hebrew word, which confessedly involves slaughter. And besides, whatever may have been the original application of the Greek word to inanimate (as it is said) as well as to animate objects, I believe that, when the seventy adopted it for the rendering of the Hebrew word, it had become appropriate to the sacrifice of animals.

As to Dr Hickes's long definition, it seems to me evidently drawn from the contemplation of his own theory rather than having any correspondency with the institution of sacrifice in Leviticus. I admit Dr Hickes's alleged difficulty of an exact definition. But when we perceive a cir-

cumstance applying to all sacrifice, and without which there can be no sacrifice, all the purposes of a definition may be answered.

Before I finish let me request you to be assured that, when I speak so freely of great names, it is with a sense of my own weakness, notwithstanding which it is incumbent on me, in respect to subjects of difference between men of the same grade of talents and learning, to make an opinion for myself.

In what I have written, my purpose is to bring some little aid to your own reflections. And so, committing myself to your candour and imploring the divine benediction on your inquiries, I remain your affectionate friend and brother,

Rev. John Hobart, D.D., New York. WM WHITE.

Of the same Work of Dr Hickes, and Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice.

Philadelphia, June 15, 1807.

Reverend and Dear Sir,

When I wrote my letter of the 30th of October, I made a memorandum of a few particulars connected with the subject of it, on which I wished to express my opinion; but delayed this, because of engagements which then pressed. Your letter, acknowledging the receipt of mine, intimated that you laid some stress on the arguments adduced in it. This aided my determination to take up the subject again. It has, however, been prevented by avocations succeeding upon one another: but now, expecting a favourable opportunity within these few days, I resume the correspondence.

The points which I propose to handle are these: Is there in the eucharist a sacrifice? If not, is there a feast on sacrifice? And if neither, what is the import of its being the commemoration of a sacrifice?

The introducing of the third question shows that I answer the first and the second in the negative: and in regard to the first, I consider it as no small objection to the doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice, in the strict and proper sense, that they who affirm it find so great difficulty in agreeing in a definition of the word. If we look at the different definitions of learned men, as cited by Mr Johnson in his "Unbloody Sacrifice," they are clearly arbitrary. So is his own; and in order to prove this, I will detain you with an attention to its contents.

His first descriptive circumstance of a sacrifice is its being some material thing, animate or inanimate, offered to God. Here I recur to the principles of my former letter; on the ground of which I still venture to express my persuasion that the Hebrew word denoting sacrifice means animal sacrifice only. Mr Johnson indeed mentions the frequent use of "θυσια" by the seventy; and he wishes that our translators had followed their example, putting "sacrifice" for their "ουσια;" it being to

be presumed that their knowledge both of Hebrew and of Greek was adequate to the occasion. But it is easy to account for their conduct in this matter, without questioning their skill in either language. Mr Johnson himself shows, and Potter's Antiquities, to which he refers, will vouch for him, that the word "θυω" had anciently a more extensive signification than that of slaughter. I presume that it had not become limited to this when the seventy translated, although I have inadvertently and unnecessarily expressed the opposite idea in my former letter. The error is of no consequence as to the matter there treated of; but in writing I forgot the application of the word to inanimate offering in the Septuagint, which is indeed very frequent.

Mr Johnson's second circumstance is "for the acknowledging the dominion and other attributes of God, or for procuring divine blessings, especially remission of sins." If this mean no more than that in the eucharist the devout worshipper has a view to both these objects, it is certainly correct: but it is what the ordinance possesses in common with other acts of homage, such as should be offered daily.

The third circumstance is that of "a proper altar;" but in unfolding the sentiment he has said more against than in favour of it as involved in the idea of sacrifice.

His fourth is "by a proper officer and with agreeable rites;" certainly fit attendants on all public exercises of devotion; yet no further entering into the idea of all sacrifices than in the sense in which any head of a family may be called a proper officer, and the most simple expression of devout affection an agreeable rite.

His last circumstance, that of consumption, seems to have been invariably a property of sacrifice, but cannot be said to be confined to it. I believe our best writers consider the red heifer in Numbers, xix. 2, as not a sacrifice.

You may see what arbitrary accounts of the subject are the consequence of losing sight of the true discriminating circumstance—that of animal slaughter in a divinely instituted act of devotion. But let the attention be confined to this, and you have a clear view of the nature of an institution coeval with our race; but of which no rational account can be given, except as prefigurative of the great sacrifice of the cross; which dispenses with every other, although to be itself commemorated by a spiritual sacrifice to the end of time.

Before my sentiments on the present subject became settled, as I trust they have been these many years, with little probability of change, the only authority adduced from Scripture which appeared to me to have weight in favour of the doctrine which I here reject, is the well known passage in the 10th chapter of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians. It appeared to me for some time that, as in the parallel drawn, there was a real sacrifice of the heathen and a real sacrifice of the Jews, so there was apparent ground for the affirming of a real sacrifice in the eucharist. But this difficulty yielded to the consideration that nothing is more common

than for a matter to be predicable, alike of the thing signified and of its sign. A dishonour to a picture may extend in an equal degree to the person whom it represents; and the slighting of a token may be hostile to the friendship of which it was designed to be the remembrancer. In like manner let it be admitted that the death of Christ is a sacrifice in the strict and proper meaning of the word; and that through the merits of this sacrifice the body of his professing followers are related to him and to one another. Let it be further admitted that the elements of bread and wine are the appointed figure of his body and of his blood; and that by partaking of these symbols we recognize our relation to him and our common tie among ourselves: and immediately the figurative sacrifice of Christians admits of a comparison with the real sacrifices of the heathen as to the purpose in contemplation of the apostle—the dissuading from being partakers of the heathen sacrifices; to which there was a contrariety in the figurative sacrifice of the gospel, because of there being a contrariety in the real sacrifice represented by it.

But if it should be granted to me that the passage referred to is the only one which can be said to be explicit to the point of sacrifice; still I may be told that there are other passages from which we may deduce the doctrine; and for the application of those passages I may be referred to the decision of the fathers, from whose works very many authorities have been cited. Here I make a distinction between the earlier and the later fathers; and am astonished at the manner in which they are cited by Mr Johnson and others, as if they were of equal authority in religious controversy. If our church is right in the decision which she makes, with such clear evidence of her sense of its importance, that Scripture is the only rule of faith, the ground on which the fathers can be at all appealed to, is as witnesses of the faith transmitted to them from the beginning; and that their testimony, on the general principles of evidence, may very much assist in determining the sense of Scripture, is what I am very far from being disposed to deny. But it must be confessed that in this point of view the effect of the testimony depends on the distance from the source; and it is a mistake to put a father of the fourth century on a level with one of the second. To illustrate this by an allusion to civil matters: suppose there were a question as to the interpretation of a law enacted in the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII., and it were made appear that one sense were more favoured than another by the opinion of learned counsel, and by the practice of the courts in the reign of James the first, and this were said to be the doctrine of the intervening time, it is a consideration which would have weight with every mind; while much less would be allowed to the opinion and the practice of the present day. So in bringing apostolic faith and practice to the standard of the current sense of the succeeding times, I perceive a clear distinction between the opinions of a Clement, an Ignatius, an Irenæus and a Justin, and those of a Chrysostom, a Cyril and an Austin.

Even if the opinion of early writers should, as such and distinct from

testimony, be thought to have any weight, it ought surely to be confined to the times in which not a single considerable error had pervaded the Christian church in general. Now, when you come down to the fourth century, I think I can point out at least two errors, which had a general sway at an early period of it; of which one is the lawfulness of persecution, and the other the celibacy of the clergy. On the former subject I distinguish between the not admitting to a share of power, and the inflicting of pains and penalties. The former may, under some circumstances, be lawful and even necessary; but I contend, and think you will agree with me, that the latter is in contrariety to the gospel; and yet that it was favoured by the general sense of the Christian church long before the middle of fourth century. On the other subject I do not mean to say that they as yet obliged the clergy to put away their wives; and we have an evidence to the contrary in the celebrated story of Paphnutius at the council of Nice. But even the story implies, and other incidents prove that the church had adopted those sentiments concerning marriage which ended soon afterwards in prohibiting it to the priesthood. Now you know we Protestants consider this as one of the tokens of apostacy prophesied in Scripture.

These remarks seem to me to assist in estimating the sense of the fathers of different periods. In regard to those of the first two or three centuries, I am particularly aware of what has been said by Justin, by Irenæus and by Tertullian. But I find nothing which may not be brought under the idea of oblation, that is, the commemorative presentation of the elements; or wherein the application of the word "sacrifice" (θυσια) may not fairly be understood of them, as in the New Testament of alms. Besides, it is not surprising that Justin should be found giving to the word the same extensive signification which it bore in the Greek translation of the Scriptures in daily use; and there standing for different subjects denoted in the Hebrew by different words. I beg you to consider further how difficult it has been found by the writers from whom I dissent to bend to their system what Barnabas has said concerning the abolishing of the legal sacrifices, to make way for "a human oblation;" which he defines to be "an humble and a contrite heart;" in addition to this the circumstance in the oblation spoken of by Clement, that they were such even before consecration, which seems to imply a reference to devotion as that which principally constituted them an offering; and further, the affirmation of Justin that "the only perfect and acceptable sacrifices are prayers and thanksgivings;" with expressions to the same effect in Irenæus and several others. On these authorities I might be tempted to enlarge for their elucidation, were it not that I can more expeditiously refer you to Dr Waterland's treatise on the eucharist, in which you will find the above mentioned fathers cleared from the supposition of their having asserted a material sacrifice.

In regard to later eclesiastical writers, although I lay less stress on their opinions; yet it would not be difficult to show that what they have

said rhetorically is often improperly quoted, to the neglect of passages in which a different sense is spoken. No father has delivered himself more rhetorically than Chrysostom, as where he talks of "the tremendous sacrifice lying on the altar;" and yet, intending to distinguish between the Jewish system and the Christian, he says, "we do not offer another sacrifice, but always the same, or rather we perform a memorial."

I began with remarking how difficult certain writers had found it to agree among themselves in a definition of sacrifice. On this account, there was a time when I was disposed to look on the present question as merely one of words. But when I came to consider maturely the opinions which go along with the affirmative side of the question, in the writings of those who hold it; and when I perceived, as I thought, a train of sentiment which, by a consistent progression, ended in the worst of all the bad tenets of Roman Catholic superstition, I became uneasy at the appearance in our church of any of that leaven which has shown itself capable of leavening the whole lump. For this reason I the more venerate the wisdom of our reformers in their having been so careful to clear our system of every thing which participated of the alarming sentiment. In my former letter I noticed instances of this in the Latin prayer book, in their carefully substituting of "presbyter" for "sacerdos," and of "table" for "altar." I will now give you another instance from the homily on the sacrament, in which we are charged to "take heed lest of the memory it be made a sacrifice." To the best of my recollection this continued a universal sentiment to the time of Archbishop Laud. I am aware that ever since his day there have been a proportion of the English clergy who have gone into the sentiment; but am mistaken if it have at any period pervaded the body, and especially if it have been ever prevalent on the episcopal bench. I am sorry to find it pressed of late by some writers; and, among them, am particularly sorry that Mr Daubeny, whom I much admire in some respects, should be one. In regard to our own church I cannot help anticipating bad consequences from the exploded error, as I consider it, being taken up by any of our clergy. For the error does not end in itself, but has sundry kindred errors, some of which I proceed to specify.

One of them is the remission of sins, as an end of the celebration of the eucharist. That the general design of the Gospel is to make known the forgiveness of sin, and that the ministry are clothed with power and authority to declare it, are truths not to be denied. But I do not perceive how this applies to the sacrament any more than to ordinary occasions of public worship, when we confess our sins and listen to the authoritative absolution. What occasion for this if there be a more solemn institution for the accomplishing of the end? In the Jewish religion there was no such ordinary and constant provision for the relieving of the troubled conscience of the penitent. He had no resource but the appointed sacrifice; and if the eucharist be a sacrifice in the

sense of his, it seems to make superfluous every other instrument of pardon.

Another doctrine connected with it is that of a fœderal rite, holding out the idea that every celebration is a covenanting anew. But on this I content myself with referring you to Bishop Pearce, by whom it has been, as I think, satisfactorily confuted.

I might bring up to you again all those dangerous sentiments, as I consider them, of Dr Hickes, which I stated in my former letter; as, that ministers are mediators and intercessors for the people. But there strikes my mind with the most force, on the score of danger, that in consequence of the metaphysical words of the institution many express themselves so obscurely concerning the elements, as shows that they have confused notions of something more than what the senses perceive of mere bread and wine. Now you no sooner throw in among their indistinct conceptions the notion of a material sacrifice, than it looks so much like that of a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead and living, as must be a preparation of the mind for the error in all its absurdity and mischievous tendency.

Had I intended a full discussion of the subject, I have written far too little; but I fear, considering my plan, far too much, and shall therefore be brief on the next question—of a feast on sacrifice.

I am aware how very eminent the characters are who have patronized the affirmative of the question; and I flatter myself that I differ from them in language only. That the eucharist resembles the peace offerings, and not the sin offerings of the Jews, I am satisfied; and it makes a considerable part of the ground on which I reject the opinions before spoken of. Now this distinction enters into the whole argument of a feast on sacrifice: and although I do not perceive any material error resulting from it, yet I am dissatisfied with the mode of stating the subject; because it seems to make an unnatural conjunction of literal language with the figurative. In this opinion the sacrifice is of the real body and blood of Christ upon the cross: but the partaking of the sacrifice is spiritual manducation, that is, the due contemplation of the subject with suitable affections; for I never could perceive what else this could mean.

I have an ingenious treatise on the Lord's supper, written by Dr Bell, prebendary of Westminster; a gentleman with whom I remember to have dined at the Bishop of Landaff's table. Dr Bell attacks the doctrine of a feast on sacrifice on another ground; which requires the supposition that even the sacrifices of the peace offerings were for the purpose of expiation. This is inconsistent with the idea of them, which I have derived from the best authorities, and which seem to me agreeable to the injunctions in Leviticus. I wish Dr Bell had been more full on this point: but not perceiving the correctness of what he says on it, I must object to the doctrine on my own principles, and not on his.

You see I am reduced to the necessity of resting the eucharist on the mere ground of a memorial. I am aware that by this I subject myself to the censure of Mr Daubeny and others; who accuse me of narrowing the subject to the mere memory of a deceased friend. Before I either deny the charge or acknowledge any reproach in it, I must demand an explanation of the terms. Suppose I were told that you had introduced into your family the stated celebration of the memory of a friend, cherished by you with affection, which you took this way of expressing and perpetuating. From this I should learn no more of the motive of your proceeding than extraordinary regard. But if it were in consideration of some signal benefit, I should be sensible that this might have been far short of any thing involving life and fortune. But suppose me further informed that the favour consisted in dying that you and your whole family might live, and this without your having merited any favour at his hands, and even under the weight of great demerit; and then I perceive that it is a case which, beyond any other that concerns your temporary being, challenges the unbounded love of you and yours. Now apply this to the subject, and you will perceive that the doctrine of a mere memorial gives no such degrading representation as is supposed in the language which has been bestowed on it.

And yet the comparison does not reach all the points comprehended in the sacramental commemoration. For the very circumstance that the eucharist is a memorial, makes it "an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace." The grace is involved in the subject commemorated, and therefore must be imparted by the mean of the celebration. Not only so, the promises of God are hereby visibly signed and sealed. For what less is the matter commemorated than the death of Christ, as "a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, propitiation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world." On what are the divine promises founded, but on the merits of this transaction? And how then can it be celebrated by an external, appointed rite, without this rite's being significant of promises resting on a truth which cannot fail?

Bishop Hoadly has been censured for giving a diminishing representation of the ordinance in question, in his "Plain Account of the Lord's Supper;" and the same objection has been made to Dr Bell. But it appears to me that the ground they have given for the charge is their neglecting a view of the important truths comprehended in the idea of a memorial. Whether their faith were imperfect, in this respect, is more than I shall venture to decide on. But if it were, or if their reserve were mere omission; in either case there is a fallacy in ascribing to their doctrine of the sacrament that which may more properly be ascribed to their inattention to the truths which the sacrament was intended to suggest.

Let the decisions and the services of our Church be carefully attended to, with the view of selecting every sentiment and every expression which can be thought to ascribe due importance to the holy institution, and to its beneficial tendency: and then, if there should be any thing not clearly

involved in or deducible from the idea of a memorial, I shall at least think myself deficient in the character of a minister of the Episcopal Church. But if nothing further should be found, I claim the acknowledgement that what is believed beyond it should be held and taught with great modesty and forbearance.

When I look back to the earlier times of the Church, I think I perceive the gradual manner, in which there were introduced the notions of sacrifice, priest and altar, with the kindred notion of the succession of the Christian clergy to the legal priesthood, and of this being an intended figure of the other. No doubt there was an unperceived bias to this in the minds of holy men, on account of the uses which they thought connected with it. But whatever temporary uses there may have been, the abuses, as a natural result, have been enormous and prominent; and this should be a warning to us, who have happily escaped the evil, by a reformation which would never have been achieved, unless by men, who perceived not only existing errors, but the unsoundness of the foundation on which they stood.

What the sense of the reformers was, I consider as clear as it could have been made, in what my former letter stated to you, concerning the words "ἱερεὺς," "sacerdos" and "presbyter," and I revert to it merely to mention an idea that lately occurred to me, on accidentally casting my eye over a passage from Dr Hickes, quoted with approbation by Mr Daubeny, in the 312th page of his 2d volume. What could Dr H., and what could Mr D., thought I, have made of the argument of this passage, if it had been written in Latin? They surely would not, in defiance of the sense of their church, have given "sacerdos" for "priest;" and yet had they, with the church, have taken the word "presbyter," the whole passage would have been nonsense. Is it not evident, that, so far as our system is concerned, gentlemen avail themselves of the word "priest" in its application to two different characters? Although, therefore, I consider our use of the English word justifiable by its etymology, yet I cannot but think, with Mr Hooker (book 5, sect. 78), that the word presbyter is "more fit, and, in propriety of speech, more agreeable than priest, with the whole drift of the Gospel of Jesus Christ;" still, however, acknowledging, with the same extraordinary man, that, "as for the people, when they hear the name, it draweth no more their minds to any cogitation of sacrifice, than the name of a senator or of an alderman causeth them to think upon old age, or to imagine that every one so termed must needs be ancient, because years were respected, in the first nomination of both."

If I were to give vent to the various considerations which occur to my mind, according to the various points of view in which the subject may be placed, my letter would swell beyond all reasonable bounds. I therefore give over, and subscribe myself,

Your affectionate brother,

WM WHITE.

P.S. I hope it will not be understood that I object to the words sacrifice and altar, as applied figuratively to ecclesiastical subjects. This may often be done with great propriety and beauty, without danger of our being misunderstood. In regard to both words, the Scriptures have set us the example.

Of the last three Books of Hooker.

Philadelphia, March 19, 1807.

Reverend and Dear Sir:

I received, this day, yours of yesterday, and, agreeably to your desire, I immediately answer.

Not being possessed of any information beyond what is prefixed to Mr Hooker's books, I can give you only my reasonings on the subject.

First, I consider, as an ascertained fact, that the last three books, as finished by that great man, were lost, probably in the manner related by his Jezebel of a wife; and it is a great loss, if it were only for the want, evidently discernible, of the last polish of the accomplished draftsman.

Secondly, There seems satisfactory evidence that the imperfect drafts were obtained by Archbishop Whitgift, and put by him into the hands of Mr Hooker's intimate friend, Dr Spencer, who may be supposed to have made out a copy from them, as it is said he did, agreeable to the materials: and of the work, thus finished, several copies were taken and deposited in well known libraries.

Thirdly, It appears that during the troubles under Charles I., there was set forth, from the Lambeth Library, an edition in which there are affirmed to have been corruptions favourable to the parliamentary cause.

Fourthly, There have been later editions, under Episcopalian patronage, agreeing with the former, with the exception of the alleged corruptions, which appear to have been very few, though important.

From the premises, I infer that wherever the opposite editions agree, there is reasonable evidence that the matters contained in them are taken from the drafts of Mr Hooker: and I thus fortify the proposition in a civil and in a religious point of view.

1. In a civil. It appears to me that the sentiments of the divines of the Church of England in the time of Hooker were more conformable to the mixed government of that country, than they became after the accession of the Stuarts, and especially after the reign of tyranny and hypocrisy in the persons of Cromwell and others. The opinion here expressed, I think, I could prove to your satisfaction. Now Hooker's political sentiments are in the spirit of the British constitution, much more than is consistent with the supposition of encouragement given to fabrication in after times, by the then friends of the establishment. And on the other hand, if the fabrication had been by the Presbyterians, it seems very improbable, that they would have put into it such weighty arguments against their principles and their practices.

In a religious point of view, I ask—If the work has been corrupted, in the edition now common, by whom was this done? Was it by the Presbyterians? If this be said, I think it must be by some high-flying Episcopalian, on one or the other of these two accounts: because he finds a description of the Christian ministry, so different from the Christian priesthood advocated by certain writers of another stamp; or because a parliamentary sanction is defended on grounds which equally warrant a lay sanction in another channel, dictated by other local circumstances. In reference to both these points, why was not the adulteration remedied from those other copies, which must have come into the hands of the establishment, especially that of Archbishop Usher? Or did the Episcopalians tamper with the work, from zeal for the apostolic institution of episcopacy? Verily, they had no need to do it, as there is nothing to this point in the three books, which is not as strongly affirmed in the fifth.

The sentiment last expressed, seems to me to admit of pertinent application, in the controversy which you state to be impending. For, so far as the question relates to the real sentiments of Mr Hooker, I should be willing to rest the whole issue on the position, that there is nothing material in the posthumous books, which is not at least a fair deduction from those edited by the author.

If material alterations could be supposed, they must have been by the Presbyterians, because Dr Spencer's work is fairly traced to the hands of Bishop King, and from him, through those of Archbishop Abbot, to the Lambeth Library, where the books were found by the party soon afterwards prevailing, whose alterations, however, I presume to have been no more than such as they are charged with, which were detected, as others would have been, by copies taken from Dr Spencer's.

There are several particulars resting on my mind, in answer to your preceding letter; but I have neither time nor room for them in this, and so conclude myself,

Your affectionate brother,

WM WHITE.

Rev. John H. Hobart, Assistant Minister of Trinity Church.

Of the Churches retaining the Episcopal Succession—and Additions to Rees's Cyclopedia.

Philadelphia, April 24, 1807.

Reverend and Dear Sir:

I have just now received your letter, and am sorry that I have so little information to give you on the contents of it.

Besides the Episcopal Church in England, Scotland and the United States, I know of no other than the Romish, the Greek, the Swedish, the Danish and the Moravian. In regard to the Danish, of which you particularly inquire, it seems to me very improbable, that their bishops

should be considered such without the succession; and yet this circumstance not be noted in the controversies between the Established Church of England and the dissenters there, but be brought forward on the authority of a writer at least obscure. In regard to the name of Superintendent, I understand it to be used in two dioceses only, and these formerly belonging to Germany. But I have been informed, by a gentleman who is a native of Denmark, that even in these two dioceses, although the ancient name is retained, the persons are always consecrated. No stress is to be laid on the circumstance which passed soon after our revolution. It was a brotherly offer, on the part of Denmark, to ordain deacons and priests for us, but did not arise from any thing that passed on this side the water; being the consequence of the suggestion of our then minister in London, Mr Adams, to serve some young gentlemen who had come over for orders, but who finally obtained them in London.

I presume that the Moravian succession can be fairly made out: otherwise I think it would never have received the sanction of Archbishop Potter and other bishops, at the time of passing the act encouraging the settlement in the colonies of a people called "Unitas Fratrum." That people value and retain the documents of that transaction, as contained in the publications of the time, and I make no doubt you could be furnished with them in New York.

In a former letter you mentioned the Cyclopedia. As the work progresses, I find less need to make remarks. The next article which I shall have to attend to, is that of "Bishop." It appears to me that in the first few paragraphs, the editor has pretty fairly stated the merits of the controversy, but he becomes very unfair afterwards. Although I have only undertaken to attend to the second half of every volume, yet if any thing should be requisite on the other halves, on the principle of "audi alteram partem," I have no doubt of the consent of Dr Green. I had an instance of this under the article "Anglo-Calvinists," and since that under the article "Atterbury." On my part, care will be taken, when I insert any thing in contrariety to the prejudices of Dr Rees, to do it in the historic form, and not in the dogmatic: a distinction which I think he should have observed in such a work as his, but which he has not. I mean this remark as it concerns difference among professing Christians. I remain,

Your affectionate brother,

Rev. John H. Hobart, D.D. WM WHITE.

Extracts from Letters relating to the Comparative Views of the Calvinistic and Arminian Controversy.

Philadelphia, August 10, 1808.

Reverend and dear Sir:

The receiving this day of the first number of your Magazine reminds me of what I have for some time had in contemplation—the offering to you

the work on the Epistle to the Romans, a part of which I read to you. The provisos are that you should really believe (and on this point I require you to be candid) that it will be a furthering of your design; and that the parts shall not be more divided than the nature of a magazine requires, which, as I am aware, ought not to appropriate too great a proportion of itself to any particular subject.

I could wish the introduction to be entire. It will not take up as much room as my narrative in your present number, provided I judge correctly from the recollection of the sheets in manuscript. My first and third points may be divided, each of them, into two or three, according as I shall be found correct or otherwise in regard to the introduction. My second point will not take up two of your pages, and may therefore, according to your pleasure, be put in a number by itself, or joined in a division with the second or the third. My fourth and fifth will not be too long for one number, but may be in one or two, as you may prefer. There will remain, suitable in size for another number (if you should see a use in printing it, although not absolutely necessary to the design), a postscript concerning the Gentiles, whose case I could not sufficiently handle in the introduction, without going beyond the bounds of the Epistle. * * * *

It is difficult for any man to judge of the comparative merit of what he writes. But while I hope I have kept myself clear from the imagination of there being considerable merit in any thing of mine, I entertain the sentiment that if I ever wrote any thing deserving of attention, it is this tract. * * * *

Philadelphia, August 26, 1808.

Reverend and Dear Sir:

* * * * There is a difficulty in the way of doing what you propose in regard to striking off copies of the Tract a part of which I now send, being not yet absolutely certain whether the Tract will be part of a larger work, or "litera suæ potestatis;" and it is not probable that I shall make up my mind in regard to this, until I see whether what I have written will be thought of any value. * * * *

Philadelphia, October 28, 1809.

Reverend and Dear Sir:

I send you by my nephew, Mr Thomas Morris, a quire of my second part of the Comparison, &c.

[Then follow directions relating to the manner in which it may be properly divided for insertion in the Magazine.]

Philadelphia, November 23, 1809.

Reverend and Dear Sir:

* * * * I request you to purchase for me, if it can be had, Overton's True Churchman; and if this cannot be done, but

it can be borrowed, to get it for me in that way. The only copy I ever saw is now in a distant state, and I read it before I undertook my Comparison. To my fourth part I have put an appendix, devoted to a short review of a few productions of this sort. Those intended were Toplady, Haweis and Overton. To the former two I have attended, and nothing but some remarks on Overton are wanting to complete my whole work. According to my recollection, I shall have occasion to treat him with more respect than the two others, in whom there are matters which I cannot reconcile either with a Christian temper or with common honesty. * * * *

P.S. I am aware that there will be wanting something explanatory of the title of my second part. But, instead of what you propose, I prefer as follows. Put an asterisk after my title, and then to another asterisk, at the bottom of the page, add: "This title refers to a preceding comparison of the same subject with the Epistle to the Romans." * * * *

Philadelphia, December 24, 1809.

Dear Sir:

Since writing the within I have received Overton, and have found him much less potent than I had supposed from giving him a hasty reading formerly. It seems to me that a few general heads, properly opened, will show what little bearing his reasonings and quotations have on the subject. It will not be to my purpose to go into more of him than his second chapter, except to guard a reader against the unfairness of his quotations. Having met in my way some instances of this, I compared some of his quotations from Daubeny with the places as they stand in that writer, and soon discovered gross instances of the same fault. Mr Daubeny having answered Mr Overton, in a work which I have not seen and cannot procure here called "Vindiciæ Anglicanæ," I now write to request you to procure it for me in New York, with the other books mentioned in the enclosed. * * * *

Philadelphia, June 5, 1810.

Reverend and Dear Sir:

I presume that you received my note on 1 Peter ii. 8, sent in February. ..... If it be not too late or inconvenient, I could wish added what you will see below. I hope that the attention given to this text will not be thought superfluous. In the Calvinistic sense I have always considered it as applying more directly to reprobation than any of the texts which they commonly quote: and accordingly, as you will perceive, I have bestowed some pains on it. * * * *

Philadelphia, July 6, 1812.

Right Reverend and Dear Sir:

* * * * As you are said to be contemplating a journey, on which you will be absent a considerable time, you will excuse my again

introducing the subject of my claim on Mr Swords for the remaining parts of my Comparison, &c. The reason of my having some copies struck off for me was to give an opportunity to myself, and the other clergy in the state, to furnish inquirers with my ideas of the merits of the Calvinistic question, so far as Scripture is concerned. In this design I am arrested for the want of the remaining sheets. It is evident that all the sheets pertaining to the second part will be useless to me without the remainder. Now what I request of you is, to obtain a positive answer, whether I may expect them, and if so, within what time they may be depended on.

I suppose that by this time you have ascertained whether the Magazine is to go on in Connecticut. If you have not, I think it will be best to send back the quire in your possession of my Comparison, being very particular as to the conveyance.

Be so good as to inform me—but without mentioning my writing to you on the subject—what is done or likely to be done in New York as to the use of the "Prayer in time of War and Tumults." We have not yet read it in our churches, nor indeed had any discussion of the subject: but I think it probable that, if the disuse be continued, it will give occasion to those who seek occasion. As to my own opinion, I have always held in these matters, that, however the individual may possess his own opinion and be free in expressing it, he is to submit in his conduct to the public voice of his country. In the prayer itself there is nothing that any can in conscience object to: and yet I confess there is something in me rendering the use of it the reluctant yielding to duty, because of the very improper views which I conceive to have occasioned the present war. * * * *

Philadelphia, November 21, 1816.

Right Reverend and Dear Sir:

* * * * Supposing that the demise of the Churchman's Magazine puts a period to the publishing of my Comparison, I wrote to Mr Rudd to send the manuscript. He returned for answer, that he had delivered it to you and to Dr How. Whichever of you may have it in possession, I beg the favour of you to forward it to me by some careful hand. Perhaps I may be able to improve it, and publish the whole work together, when the times and my private circumstances may suit. * * * *

Philadelphia, March 28, 1817.

Right Reverend and Dear Sir:

* * * * The great increase of books on the subject of the Calvinistic controversy, since I drew up my papers relative to it, has lately induced in me a determination to publish them. The paper is engaged for the purpose, and Mr Bronson proposes to begin on Monday. The work will be in two volumes octavo. The first volume will contain the first three parts. The fourth part, relative to the Epis-

copal Church, containing, besides what you have read, remarks on some late divines of the Church of England, who have affirmed the Calvinism of its institution, will make better than one half of the second volume: the remainder of which will comprehend No. 1, On Baptismal Regeneration, and No. 2, On Mr Daillé's treatise "Of the Use of the Fathers." These two subjects entered so materially into various parts of the performance, that, to avoid interruption of the thread of argument, I judged best to discuss them in an appendix.

Of what I wrote on the former of them, I gave an epitome in my lectures, which were so brief that I do not judge it improper to renew the point. I have not been inattentive to what has been recently given relative to it in the Christian Observer. But, in reviewing my performance, I do not find any more necessary than what may be inserted in a few notes. Dr Mant's tract having given occasion to so many animadversions in the Christian Observer, I am desirous of seeing it, very much suspecting that he has been misrepresented. * * * *

Extracts relating to Bible Societies.

Philadelphia, December 29, 1810.

Reverend and Dear Sir:

I am exceedingly sorry to observe what appears in your Magazine concerning Bible Societies. On the one hand, I ought not to suppose, that a bishop of London would hazard such things without cause: but, on the other hand, I cannot part with my long entertained opinion of the wisdom as well as the piety of his predecessor. His name, with the names of other bishops and other eminent men in England, encouraged me much to join in a similar enterprise in this country. What will be the issue of a division of sentiment, both in England and here, I cannot foresee. But this is a subject too extensive for the conclusion of a letter. * * * *

Philadelphia, February 16, 1811.

Reverend and Dear Sir:

* * * * I fear you understood what I said of your mention of the Bible Society in a much stronger sense than what was intended. It is a subject on which I wish for information: having not seen either the publication of Mr Wordsworth or that of Lord Teignmouth. If the late excellent bishop of London and several other bishops have been too hasty in patronizing the Bible Society, certainly their example ought not to be followed. But this ought not to be believed too hastily. The former seems to have been very zealous in the business; for, besides his being an officer and making of large donations, there is in the Ecclesiastical Register for 1808 a letter of his to the planters of Jamaica, in which he recites the immense efforts of the labourers of the

institution. I can easily conceive, however, that in England there may be some objections to the concurring in good designs with the dissenters, which objections do not lie here. In matters in which peculiarities of profession may clash, no clergyman has been more cautious than myself in committing any point belonging to our communion to the wills of those who differ from us. But I have always been of opinion, that when, without hazard of this, there can be communications in any laudable design, they tend not only to Christian charity, but to reconcile the more sensible and moderate of other communions to our principles and to our institutions. However laudable the distributing of Prayer Books, it seems to me an object distinct from the other, which is of great magnitude, of expense, and requires combined exertions: there being danger of the extinction of the profession of Christianity among a great proportion of the people of the United States. And that, so far as the increase of our own communion is concerned, we ought not to fear that the making known of the contents of the Bible will be less likely to make people churchmen than of any other society.

These sentiments are expressed not to censure, but to explain. The clergy of our Church in this city entered into the design of a Bible Society, when they had no reason to suppose that any objection existed against the projected plan with our brethren in other states, and when they saw a similar plan patronized by high characters in church and state in England. We have not yet seen cause to alter our opinion; but if our brethren of the clergy in the other states pursue the same object by a different road, I think we should wish one another success. * * * *

Of the Bishop of Lincoln's Refutation of Calvinism.

Philadelphia, June 16, 1812.

Right Reverend and Dear Sir:

As Mr Moore merely passes through this city, the engagements of the day do not permit me to return your book with more than these few lines.

I ought, and hope I do, speak with diffidence, when I confess to you that the bishop of Lincoln does not seem to me always to distinguish clearly.

For instance, so early as in the third page, he not only represents the opinion opposed to his differently from what a Calvinist would own, particularly in the terms "incorrigible and "incapable of amendment," for human nature is confessedly corrigible and amendable by divine grace—and without this an anti-Calvinist ought not to suppose it possible—but in speaking of "a co-operation of man," he loses sight of that preventing grace which our system supposes to precede it. This sentiment, so far as it respects preventing grace, you seem to have possessed, by the notes which you have made with a pencil in the margin: although, in some instances, they are too faint to be read.

When the bishop speaks of faith and works, he falls into what I conceive the error of supposing that, under the latter term, St Paul means only works of the ceremonial law. There are many expressions of the apostle which seem to me to contradict this, and to prove that he contemplated the whole law, and intended to show that, on the ground of the Jewish covenant, there was no justification thereby—justification was all along by faith in a dispensation to come, but faith, both then and now, involved in it the principle of obedience.

Of the many quotations which the bishop has made from the fathers on the subject of free will, there are a considerable proportion which, I think, would not be denied by Calvinists, especially by those who are such on the pretence of philosophical necessity, who say that the will is free—that is, unaffected by any external force, and yet is determined by causes which act as effectually as any force applied to matter. *
* * *

Of the "Appendix to the Roman Catholic Question."

Philadelphia, November 27, 1813.

Right Reverend and Dear Sir:

In your last you mentioned to me your design* of reviewing the Appendix to the Report of the Trial on the Catholic Question, and invited me to suggest to you any hints which might occur. I have not had time to bestow much attention to the subject, but in reading the said production I marked some places, to which I will be free to ask your particular attention, although I doubt not of their being noticed without any prompting of mine.

Page 21 and elsewhere, "the doing of penance" is presumed to mean the same with "repentance." They certainly convey very different ideas. It is true that, in Latin, "*agere penitentiam*" is a proper translation of "to repent:" but the standard is the Greek, which has nothing like it. And to show the impropriety of confounding the two ideas in English, it is worth while to turn to some text, which even the Doway translation does not venture to apply to the doing of penance: as Matthew xxi. 29 and 32; xxvii. 3; 2 Corinthians vii. 8.

In the same page there are two syllogisms, of which you will see the fallacy. The major of the first is needlessly incumbered with the words "to do penance:" without which it must be granted. The minor is professed to be sustained by another syllogism, of which neither major nor minor is true. The former confounds the subject with the effect of a judicial sentence. The latter is contrary to observation, which must have furnished us with instances of sorrow, as well in the domestic as in the religious line, perceived to be unequivocal, without our knowing of the particulars of offence in the respective departments.

* This design was not executed by Bishop Hobart. The Appendix was afterwards answered by the Rev. Dr Wharton.

Some of the quotations from the fathers are evidently irrelevant. I do not doubt that others of them are misrepresented. Those from Chrysostom are certainly so. The passage quoted from "De Sacerd." lib. 2, might be fitly applied to voluntary unburthening of consciences to Protestant clergymen. That quoted (page 49) from the third book is evidently intended by the father of baptism and the Lord's supper, in which assurance of the forgiveness of sins is given. Of all the fathers, none is more decisive of the non-necessity of auricular confession than Chrysostom: which seems to have arisen from a circumstance noticed in one of my dissertations.

Page 70. There is a mis-statement of the Protestant argument concerning the Council of Lateran. It is not that auricular confession was till then unknown, but that it was not before enjoined by ecclesiastical law.

Page 71 et seq. In what is said concerning the Greeks, there is carefully kept out of sight that they have never to this day used the absolute form of the Romish Ritual, and of the English Book of Common Prayer: theirs is declaratory, as is testified by Dr Covel. Of the other forms, no instance is alleged from an early period of the church.

As to the argument, from the difficulty of the introduction of so humiliating an ordinance, there can be no doubt that this, like many other things which have proved dreadful in the hands of the Roman hierarchy, was introduced with the most pious views. The abuses have proved them the result of a mistaken piety.

It would be a delicate task to balance the incidental good with the mischiefs. The latter might be shown to preponderate.

Although I believe that the form in the visitation office of the Church of England was a sacrifice to ancient habit, yet it was not fair to produce it without noticing the wide difference made by the rubric between that Church and the Church of Rome. As to the mention of "absolution," in one of the exhortations, it cannot allude to the aforesaid positive form, because there is nothing in the English institutions which warrants a clergyman to use the said form, except in the case of sickness. Also the unburthening of the conscience to the minister rests on the condition, that the party cannot satisfy his own conscience.

It is strange that two lawyers, one of whom calls himself a Protestant, and the other says he is no Catholic, should concede that auricular confession had been in the Church for eighteen centuries.

Although I approve of the decision of the court, yet I think there is an imperfection in their not so guarding of the point as to prevent hereafter a plea for impunity in the case of a crime in prospect and revealed in confession. The case of Garnet, provincial of the Jesuits, at the time of the gunpowder plot, is worthy of notice. His defence rested on the ground of the seal of confession, but he was justly executed.

It seems to me, also, that the right to secresy should not have been

treated by gentlemen of the law as belonging to Roman Catholic ministers only.

I doubted whether it would be worth while to suggest these hints, but a convenient opportunity offering, I have set them down in haste. * * * *

Of the four Lectures on the Three-fold State of Man; and Bishop Mann's Catechism.

April 20, 1816.

Right Reverend and Dear Sir:

I return . . . . the catechism left by you with blank leaves. You will perceive that I have been free in my remarks on it. There is by me another catechism, published in New York in 1813, and written by Bishop Mann. It appears to me at least equal to any thing I have seen of the sort. In my hasty perusal of it there was but one particular in which I doubted of his sense. It is in the first answer on the subject of the sacraments. Perceiving it to differ from any interpretations in my lectures, I consulted Secker, and found him to agree with me. Our interpretation seems countenanced by these words in the service for adult baptism: "whereby ye perceive the great necessity of this sacrament, where it may be had."

On four days in this week I have delivered to a respectable attendance four lectures on the following subjects: Of Man, in his Integrity, in his Apostacy, and under the Covenant of Redemption: the last subject being divided into two parts; of which the first part respected the acts of God alone, and the second related to what required the concurrence of man. They were supplementary to lectures delivered by my brethren during lent. A principal object was to distinguish the doctrines of our Church from Calvinism on the one hand, and from what is called Unitarianism on the other. Perhaps I should rather have said Pelagianism, for the question of Christ's divinity was not handled. * * * *

Of Bishop Hobart's Address at the Funeral of Bishop Benjamin Moore, and the Appendix to it.

Philadelphia, May 28, 1816.

* * * * I read your address on the occasion of the death of Bishop Moore, and the appendix, with great interest; not only because I think them well written, but because I consider the truth on the subject of them as too little attended to. It has been said by a gentleman of New York, of influence in the church, and your friend, that some of the attendant clergy of other denominations took offence. Certainly your doctrine is opposed to that of the Westminster Confession in the 32d chapter; but as you lay down the doctrine of your own church, on

an occasion to which it was obviously pertinent, and without censure on any other communion, I see no ground of offence. * * * *

I have just now looked into a Scotch edition of the Confession, wherein, to almost every clause, there is a letter referring to a note containing sustaining texts; but to the clause above noticed there is no such reference and note. Having always considered the doctrine of the confession as borrowed from popery in this instance, I read your appendix with regret at finding you content with denying your own doctrine to be popish, until I came to the last page but three; when I no longer found any defect in your performance. * * * *

Of the four Lectures, and the Address, in the two preceding Articles; and of combining with other Denominations.

Philadelphia, June 13, 1816.

* * * * It would give me pain to decline a compliance with any thing you propose: but having regretted my not adhering to the first design of my Lectures on the Catechism, of making them subservient to an annual interesting of our young people, with a view to confirmation and the communion, I framed these later lectures as a substitute. Besides, lest I should have been too hasty on some important points, I wish to keep them by me for some time to correct, if there should seem cause, and at any rate to frame some explanatory notes. There also seems to me some difficulty in the circumstance of your having declared your intention of proceeding with my Comparison. It would not be expedient that too great a proportion of your publication should be occupied by one pen.

Were it not for the last consideration I should make an offer to you of a few essays which I have drawn up; with a hope of their contributing to give a right direction to the habits of thinking of the young men now studying divinity in this city. The titles of them are: 1. "Some Objections against the position of a Personal Assurance of the Pardon of Sin, by a direct communication of the Holy Spirit." 2. "An Examination of the merits of four Phrases which have the show of Piety, but are unauthorized by Scripture, and of a dangerous tendency." 3. "An Essay concerning a Pretended Imitation of the Kiss of Charity, spoken of in Romans, xvi. 16, and in four other places of Scripture." 4. "An Essay concerning some Errors in the Ecclesiastical History of Dr Lawrence Mosheim; in the Notes of Dr Archibald Maclaine; and in the History of the Puritans by Daniel Neal."

You will wonder what is meant by the third essay. Some time after our general convention, I was informed of Dashiel's benevolence in this line towards some females of respectable standing among us. I composed the essay, fully intending that if he should practise the same in any future visits, I would submit my remarks to the perusal of the husbands or fathers.

The phrases referred to in the second essay are: "The Witness of the Spirit;" "Vital Godliness;" "Experimental Religion;" and "the Hiding of God's Face." * * * *

What I said concerning offence taken at your address was owing to something coming from a friendly quarter; which induced me to suppose it true. * * * *

There have been lately several events convincing me of the propriety of what I have always maintained as the right course with people of other denominations—to be entirely distinct in our proceedings, purely religious, and to cultivate all possible benevolence in every other line. All deviation from this ends in controversy and confusion. It seemed to me that union in distributing Bibles came under the latter head. That it is endeavoured to graft on it other objects is too evident in some places. How the matter will end, I cannot foresee; but shall endeavour to conduct myself on the subject as duty may dictate.

Of the Habits of the Clergy.

Philadelphia, October 24, 1818.

* * * * A few days ago there fell into my hands a volume on the liturgy by the Reverend Mr Biddulph of Bristol. In the beginning of it I find a perpetuating of an error of Daniel Neal, lately noticed by me in your journal, and evidently designed by him to insinuate a retrograde movement towards popery, by Queen Elizabeth. What more surprises me, Mr Biddulph quotes—and as I find correctly—from Wheately. They are correct in quoting from the act of uniformity; but the fallacy consists in their silence. The act restored the habits of the 1st book of Edward, but contained a clause empowering the queen to make alterations. In virtue of that clause she reverted to the habits of the 2d book, during the first year of her reign. On the change was predicated one of her injunctions, as found in Sparrow, about four or five years after, and shamefully misquoted by Neal. I suppose that Mr Biddulph, whose book I perceive to be recommended by Bishop Griswold, thought himself safe in following a work so much a standard as that of Mr Wheately.

Preference of Domestic Missions.

Philadelphia, November 2, 1820.

* * * * On the subject of the Missionary Society I have to mention that you and Bishop Croes being opposed to further progress under the imperfect arrangement, Bishops Griswold and Brownell being in favour of it, and Bishops Kemp, Moore and Bowen being merely willing to acquiesce, I have thought it my duty to decline the taking of any step under the act of the late convention. This has produced the question whether the managers may not proceed, under a voluntary association of their own, to continue until the next general convention;

and the resident members have written to the absent ones to know their minds on this subject.

There are two sentiments resting on my mind in relation to the contemplated object: first, that where so many efforts are making for carrying the gospel to distant lands, it may seem a defect of duty in our church, and further operates to its discredit to have no share in the work; and secondly, that as the zeal excited in this line will produce exertions to the effect, it seems the dictate of religious wisdom to give a proper direction to what will be attempted in one shape or in another. It is however my decided opinion that our endeavours should be principally put forth in those parts of our own country destitute of a gospel ministry—especially in the western states; but if people give money with a special view to foreign parts, I would not shut the door against utility in that line. * * * *

Of his Dialogues on Baptismal Regeneration.

Philadelphia, February 9, 1822.

* * * * You are at liberty to print the Dialogues, if you think them sufficiently matured for the press. My reason for writing them was to express, in a familiar form, what I had elsewhere published of my opinions on the subject; in order to put them into the hands of any members of our congregations with whom I might occasionally converse on a point so much agitated among us lately, and to guard against misapprehension of our doctrine. This object may be accomplished by your printed sheets.

Of permitting the Clergy of other denominations to officiate in our Burial Grounds.

Philadelphia, November 12, 1822.

Right Reverend and Dear Sir:

Your letter of yesterday has reached me, and has revived in my mind the sentiment with which it was lately impressed of gratitude to Almighty God for your being still spared to the Church, to your family and to your friends. Those of us in this city felt the full pressure of your late danger, and sympathised with you and yours.

In reference to the subject of your letter, it would seem to me a carrying of the matter rather too far to suppose that permission to the minister of another denomination to officiate in our churchyards at the funeral of one of his flock is a recognition of the validity of his orders. The principle on which I have steadily refused such permission—although, by the bye, it has never been asked by the friends of the deceased person, and I have been only two or three times sounded on the subject by others—is, that it will inevitably lead to contention between us and other religious societies. Some ministers are so intent on their

own views of religious subjects as to have obtruded them even within the walls of our churches, when they have obtained the use of them. In the open burial grounds there would be easier openings to such intemperance. It may be said that some clergymen of other denominations are of such characters that no apprehension of the contemplated result should be entertained of them. I grant this to the full; and could name some gentlemen to whom it is decidedly applicable. But, were those gentlemen admitted on the principle stated, I must sit in judgment on the character of every other gentleman for whom application might be made. This is so delicate a matter, that in a short time the gates would be open to all. * * * *

Of the Clerical Association.

Philadelphia, May 4, 1829.

* * * * It is very agreeable to me that there is likely to be an end of the association* to which you have been recently opposed. Give me leave, however, to express to you the opinion which I have entertained and declared on the subject. If the opinion should not be precisely the same with yours, it will be received by you as honest; while the discrepancy will be viewed by me as owing partly to somewhat of a difference in our natural temperaments, and partly to my longer observation than yours of human nature.

For such an association as that in question I see no use; while the probable abuses of it are what you have detailed. But in all efforts for such a purpose as have passed under my observation, I have perceived materials which, under neglect, would assuredly produce a dissolution. Whether death in this way, or more expeditiously as in the recent case in New York, be the most desirable, must depend on circumstances. * * * *

* The association referred to was the Clerical Association formed in the city of New York; an account of which is given by Dr Berrian in his Memoir of the Life of Bishop Hobart, pp. 384—409.

X.

OF THE WANDERING OF THE MIND IN PRAYER.

(Page 264 ante.)

Of all the frailties which sincere Christians lament, and of which they frequently complain, perhaps there is no one so prominent as that of the wandering of the mind in prayer. Accordingly a few remarks, to be expressed with brevity, may not only be matter of profitable recollection, but prepare with useful hints to be presented, on the occurrence of the subject in confidential conversation.

Whatever may be the degree of laxity in this matter, it has begun in the personal and private exercises of devotion. Therefore the remedy of the evil requires the taking of it at this its source. The correcting of it there cannot fail to be felt in the public services of the Church. They shall therefore be put out of view in the present exercise; the sense of which may generally be applied to the latter subject, no less than to the other.

The first suggestion is the fixing of the mind on the sense of the prayer: not only the general sense of it, but that of each clause in its proper place. Even in this kind of prayer there will be use in being governed by forms prescribed to ourselves, written or printed, or conceived and committed to memory. It cannot but be a help to the praying with the understanding.

Next let there be the desire of the heart, resting on the things to be prayed for. By this is meant, not an affection of the mind, excited by some occasional event, which, however suitable at the time, or to the then present state of the party, may be temporary, like the cause of it; but habitual desire, descriptive of inward character. Such preparation can only be the fruit of frequent meditation on the subjects which it is fit to bring statedly before the great Being to whom "all hearts are open and all desires are known."

While the said two particulars are faithfully acted on, it may be well to disregard all endeavours for the excitement of those animal feelings, which depend on the ebbing and the flowing of the spirits; in some measure on the state of the atmosphere, and much on the variety of organization in the bodies of different persons. It is the cause of much sin, that some judge of their religious states by their feelings of this sort, which may eventuate either in unwarrantable comfort and even ecstasy, or in a depth of sorrow excluding the consolations of the Gospel. The said feelings are no tests of spiritual character; and how little they are dependent on human will, may be sometimes seen in occurrences having no

connexion with religion, in which there are sufficient motives for the desiring of such emotions, while all endeavours for the excitement of them are in vain. That without preceding intention they wil occasionally be presented, there can be no doubt. What is objected to, is the making of them the test of a religious state. This is evident in cases of persons unquestionably in deep distress, but complaining that they cannot possess the feelings which issue in tears.

It will be a help in prayer, before entry on it, to make a pause, for the fixing of the mind on the character of the great Being to be addressed; especially on his having vouchsafed to reveal himself to us as "the hearer of prayer." In the several branches of it also, as far as is possible without an unseasonable suspension of the train of thought, there should be a direction of the mind to the particular attributes on which the request is to be bottomed; especially in invoking the name of God. In the use of the prayers of our liturgy, we are aided in this by the circumstance, that they generally begin with the matter which has been recommended. It clothes the service with one of the most conspicuous of its excellences, and is well worthy of being imitated in the conducting of personal prayer.

Let no morning be begun, and no evening be concluded, without a self-dedication to him who "holdeth our feet in life." It would be an error to dispense with this where family prayer is a part of the domestic arrangement, as it ought to be always. There will be calls for personal applications, suited to the consciousness of the party. And in regard to all, since on any committing of themselves to sleep, they know not whether they shall see the light of another day; nor, in the event of this, what dangers, temporal and spiritual, are to assail them; there will always be special calls for prayer, suited to the two periods of time referred to.

In the course of every day, on the occurrence of any incident interesting to the feelings, it will very much cherish a devout spirit, and of course be a check to the wandering of thought, to be in the habit of elevating the heart to the great Ordainer of what has happened. There have been some pious persons who have accustomed themselves to certain hours during the day, when they have retired, for the keeping up of communion with their God. This may be commendable in those so situated, as that it will not interfere with duties lying on them, as imperious as that of prayer; but it cannot be enjoined on the greater number of professors, who must either suspend those duties, or discharge the other in a way liable to the charge of ostentation.

Let there be submission to the divine will, as to the granting or the withholding of things prayed for; although not to the lessening of confidence in the promise—"if ye, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more shall your Father give his holy spirit to those that ask of him?" It has exclusively a reference to the aids of the holy spirit, which are never withheld for the furtherance in all goodness, the effect being dependent on our improvement of them. But in respect to temporal mercies, the submission cannot be too unreserved, especially

as we know not how far the denial of them may be for our greater good; and whether, under the appearances of "bread or of a fish," we may not be asking "for a stone or for a serpent." This act of submission will help to the erecting of a barrier against intrusive thoughts.

Far from us be the unauthorized expectation entertained by some, of an emotion in the mind, construed to be evidence of the granting of the prayer. The looking out for this has a tendency to the wandering, for which the present exercise is intended to be a corrective. Such supposed evidence has been incitement to crimes of the deepest die. Independently on this, if it be looked to in any concern, subjected rather to discretion, governing itself by existing circumstances, it may lead to much error in conduct. It has also the danger attendant on it that the petitioner can never know in what degree his wishes may have insensibly caused the results for which he believes himself to have looked for a divine determination. So far as regards those sacred influences, which maintain the mind in a frame the most favourable to the operations of the reasoning faculty, there will always be a call for prayer, and always benefit derivable from it.

It will be no small help, sometimes, to bring the delinquency in question before God, in prayer, with penitence specially directed to the object. The being aware of the penalty will be a check to the incurring of it.

In aid of all these expedients, desirable fruit will result from them if we should be thereby led to humble ourselves in our own eyes, there being thus manifested to us the heavy drawback from our attainments whatever they may be; and even if these be not overrated, the impressing on us of the counsel—"when ye have done all, say we are unprofitable servants."

Gracious Father, from whom all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works proceed, enable us always to address thee under the influence of these cautions, however imperfectly displayed; and from my mouth may they may be profitable to others, as occasions may occur for the presenting of them. Amen. W. W.

[*The Protestant Episcopalian, vol.* 7, *p.* 274. *July* 1836.]

XI.

(Page 290 ante.)

LETTERS OF PASTORAL ADVICE, ETC.

Letter to W. S.: intended to remove his scruples about attending the worship of the Church, because, as he thought, so many of her members were vain, luxurious, attending theatres and other public amusements, &c.

March 24, 1803.

Dear Sir:

I thank you for the small book and pamphlet which you enclosed to me. In regard to the letter accompanying them, I will take occasion to make a few remarks, dictated by sincerity and affection; such as those under the influence of which I believe the letter to have been written.

You declare yourself much discouraged by the lukewarm, careless, light, vain and proud conduct of many of our church people. That there is, and always was, too much lukewarmness, carelessness, levity, vanity and pride, is a mournful fact: but why it should discourage us in the practice of our religious duties, I do not perceive. On the contrary such qualities are so unamiable in themselves, and so fruitful of evil consequences, that the view of them in others ought rather to animate us to whatsoever things are lovely and of good report.

When you intimate that your disapproving of these evil things mentioned above has subjected you to abuse from the pulpit, I am confident that you are mistaken. From what passed between us the other day, I know that I am not the preacher meant; but when I recollect that I have been understood from the pulpit as alluding, sometimes to events, and sometimes to persons of whom I had never heard, I am the more inclined to doubt of the fact in regard to you; especially as there is no one of the clergy whom I suppose capable of intending such a thing. I am confirmed in my opinion on this point, by finding that your disapproving of midnight frolics and vain follies is among the grounds of offence supposed to be taken against you. Surely no one who wishes to retain even the title of Christian would find fault with you for this. It is indeed to be remembered that much depends on the use of these words; and that actions appear incorrect or the contrary, according to the names which we annex to them. For instance, it has probably happened to us both, that however reluctant we are to be out of our own homes at a late hour, or even to eat a supper (for this is the case with me), we have been detained by complaisance against our inclinations, in houses

in which either the want of exertion in servants, or the want of management in their employers, has made it almost or quite midnight before the refreshment has been ended. Now, on such an occasion, supposing the conversation to be innocent, it would be injustice to accuse us of having been in a midnight frolic. I am persuaded you think with me in this instance. But then the question occurs whether it be possible if, under that name, licentiousness or profaneness were understood, any clergyman should attack you for your abhorrence of it from the pulpit; so as to discourage you (for this you say is the case) from attending your place of public worship.

There is an expression in this part of your letter, which I take notice of, as objecting not to the thing itself, but to the comparison implied in it. I mean where your opposing of vanity in high places is mentioned as another offence on your part. Our testimonies ought to be against vanity, properly understood, whether in high places or in low: but I declare to you I have always found it difficult to determine to what spheres of life the greater measures of it are to be assigned. Those persons who are most in the public eye discover to it more of their characters, whether good or bad, than others who are less observed; and although this is a ground of affectionate exhortation where good example is the object, yet it is no test of truth where a comparative estimate is undertaken. If you doubt of the correctness of my sentiments on this point, I beg you to consult those of our fellow citizens whose official stations have drawn their attention to the events which take place in gaming houses and in brothels; and inquire of them what are the descriptions of persons to whom the foulest licentiousness is to be attributed. Now, although the result of the inquiries will be far from honourable either to the high or to the low, yet you will find criminality more equally divided among them than you would otherwise have imagined.

You say that if you and your children are to attend a house of folly, it is best for you both never to enter into the house of God. That any one requires either you or your family to do the former cannot be supposed, although the words strictly taken imply as much. But I rather suppose that the attendance of other people on such houses is an hindrance to your worshipping with them. If I am right in this conjecture, I must take the liberty to say that the sentiment is very unevangelical. In the epistles of the apostles to the churches you will find faults reproved; but no where an injunction to the innocent to desist from worshipping with the offenders. Our Saviour's parable of the tares should for ever prevent such a consequence of disapprobation of what is really evil in others; and if so, how much more strongly does his injunction apply to cases of a doubtful nature, if such should make a part of your meaning under the expression cited. In order to strengthen my opinion in regard to social worship, I will suggest to you a hint, founded on my own experience. I suppose that to the faults which you

have observed in some of the members of our church, such as pride, vanity, &c., you will admit of others equally disgraceful to the Christian profession, as lying, overreaching and many others. Now I suppose you to be acquainted with some conscientious members of all the different religious societies in this city. Find out from these, which I think you easily may, without asking for names, whether there are not some of their respective communions whom they hold to be guilty of some one or more of the catalogue of crimes. If your experience should agree with mine, the answer will be in the affirmative. Is it not evident then that if this is to operate to the exclusion of the sincere, there must be an end of Christian communion; which yet you acknowledge, notwithstanding this stumbling block, to have been one of the sweetest consolations of your life; and which is also a duty from which you cannot be released by an observance of the faults and deficiencies of others? And let it be remembered that in the noting of these we are always in danger of exciting in ourselves a self-righteous spirit. The Scriptures so abound with cautions on the subject of censure, that I cannot suppose you ignorant of them: and I refer to them, not as charging you with proneness to such a spirit (for I am not sufficiently acquainted with your habits of life to justify such a charge, and indeed have never supposed any thing of you but what was to your advantage); yet such is the weakness of human nature, that I know of no one point on which you and I, and all the world, are so much in danger of not knowing what manner of spirit we are of.

In the book you sent me I find many truly valuable things. I take it to have been written by the celebrated Miss Hannah More; and I hope you will submit to her authority, when I remind you of its never having occurred to her that the delinquencies of which she complains, as prevalent in the fashionable world, ought so to operate on the minds of others as to prevent their joining with the delinquents in the common worship of the church.

Still I must take the liberty of remarking, concerning this excellent woman, that not content with exhibiting irreligion and vice in their proper colour, she has gone further than truth warrants in comparing the present times with the past. I find nothing of this sort in the Scriptures as applicable to the age in which they were delivered; but am persuaded there is hardly a subsequent age in which I could not produce you some Christian writers as praising former times, with the view of setting up faults of their own in the stronger point of view, in the manner of Miss Hannah More. I will content myself with one instance of her error in this matter. In page 18 she mentions some great names as advocates for Christianity in the reigns of Elizabeth and the Stuarts: evidently contrasting those days with the present age, which however has produced professors and writers equally able and honourable in the same cause. And in this very page she is so inconsistent as to insert a note

to the honour of Lord Somers, for maintaining his profession of religion at a period when it was most discountenanced; evidently alluding to the licentious reign of Charles II.: whereas no one will say (for you must remember she is speaking of England) that it is discountenanced in the court of George III.; however many there may be there, as elsewhere, by whom it is not sufficiently honoured and obeyed. In regard to the luxury of England, when I read that in former ages the very travelling of the court was generally marked by a consumption of all the provisions of the counties through which it passed; and further, of the gormandizing feasts of the barons in their castles: although I am far from imagining that such records justify excess in any shape, yet I think that, as lovers of truth, we should look out for better examples than the practice of those days for the discountenancing of luxury. I forbear to mention the successive scenes of treachery and murder of which the history of England is full; and which surely will not be pretended to be equalled in this country by any thing of the present day, or of some ages past.

I suppose that your sending of the pamphlet, with the extracts censuring plays, was in consequence of our late conversation: I will therefore take occasion to repeat what I then said.

I have always considered a theatre as having a tendency to dissoluteness of manners; not only in consequence of the profane and the indecent expressions used occasionally; but because, in many plays, vice is exhibited in alliance with the more captivating qualities. This, we hear, is the abuse, and cannot hold against the thing itself. But it being an abuse which has existed at all times; and which, according to my apprehension, will always attend a public stage; I despair of its being otherwise, in its general tendency, than promotive of vice. It is evident, this does not hinder but that some plays may be (as they actually are) innocent, and even instrumental to morals. When, therefore, I find men of unquestionable Christian character, for instance Mr Addison and Dr Young, writing plays, I judge their opinion to be different from mine, not on the nature of virtue and vice, but on the question, whether the stage can be so regulated as not to be injurious to morals. Under this view of the subject, I would recommend to every man, to testify his disapprobation of the licentious tendency of the theatre, by abstaining from going there. But I would not make this an essential of church communion, were it in my power to do so: and much less, it not being an article of church communion, would I endeavour to enforce my opinion, otherwise than by argument. As to the injury to people's circumstances from the expense, although this was mentioned by you in conversation, I consider it as foreign to the subject. Both you and I indulge our families, I hope innocently, in some enjoyments which would be criminal in many others who have less means. You alluded, as the fruit of extravagance, to the sale of some person's furniture, looking-glasses, &c., at the house, by vendue. Extravagance is a great sin; but what is extravagance depends on circumstances. It is, in itself, innocent to have a

looking-glass; but none have a right to purchase it at the expense of others.

But there are some parts of your letter which suggest to me to consider—How is a man to regulate his family in this matter? In the first place, he is to give them, as far as he can, just sentiments on the subject; taking care to distinguish between what is sinful in itself, and what becomes so by abuse. And in the next place, if he cannot wean them from a curiosity to be present now and then at such exhibitions as have no vicious tendency in themselves, it is much better for them that this should happen under his knowledge, than that they should go clandestinely, as is the case with young people of hundreds of families in this city, or else be looking forward to the time when, in all probability, being disengaged from parental restraint, they will indulge without measure, and without distinction between the innocent and the mischievous; of which also there is a multitude of instances around us.

The sentiments of the authoress of the book you sent me, could not have been very different from mine. That she must have held the theatre to have a general bad tendency, I think probable from the tenor of her writing. But that she could not have considered a going there as an absolute renunciation of the Christian character, is evident from this; that in the very part of the book where she is enumerating amusements which she saw in that light, there is entire silence on this point; which is not of so little notoriety, as that it could have escaped her recollection.

But to proceed to your pamphlet. I have frequently heard of the author, but never before read any thing from his pen. Some of the extracts are what I have seen in other compilations of the same sort. But there is one extract, I mean that from Archbishop Tillotson, which surprised me. The passage being familiar to my mind, I perceived that it must be misquoted, and was confirmed in this by turning to the sermon of which it is part. Believe me, sir, I had rather go to fifty plays (supposing a choice of the performers) than be guilty of such a pious fraud: for such it is, unless on supposition of carelessness; to which I impute it, on account of the good character of the author.

An injudicious advocate often does his cause more injury than service: and this remark applies to many of the extracts before me. On the extract from Dr Cave, a well informed advocate for the theatre, I would remark, that the feasts of the heathen were accompanied by superstitious rites in honour of their gods, and that their public games were at the expense of human blood; and that therefore the conduct of the primitive Christians, in that matter, was no precedent against modern plays. The extract from Archbishop Usher evidently applies to immodest plays only: and that from Chief Justice Hale is, as plainly as language can make it, against excess in this and other kinds of relaxation; applying as strongly to a tavern as to a playhouse. The publisher was particularly unlucky in stumbling on the authority of such a man as Pascal; an excellent person indeed; but by some unhappy bias, esteeming every

thing sinful which drew him off from contemplation; to prevent which, he always wore next his skin an implement of self punishment. Accordingly, it is evident, that what is quoted from Pascal applies not more to diversions, though he may speak of them, than to the common cases of worldly employments and prospects.

Thus I have hastily set down the sentiments which occurred to me on reading your letter, and the books accompanying it. I have been much longer than I intended, and therefore now conclude myself, with best wishes for your spiritual guidance and your happiness of every sort,

Yours, very affectionately,

WM WHITE.

Three Letters to Mrs ———, in distress of mind (at two periods) in consequence of the persuasion of having received a divine call, through an impression on her mind, to preach the Gospel.

Philadelphia, August 27, 1811.

Dear Madam:

I have received your letter of the 18th instant, and shall be much pleased if any thing to be said by me can in any degree give relief to your mind under its present difficulty; although, indeed, all that I can say will amount to no more than the directing of you to the infallible Word, which has given all needful instruction on the subject on which you write.

It seems to me that there is hardly any thing clearer in the Scriptures than the account which they give of what things are and of what are not to be ascribed to the holy spirit. As to our Saviour's design in the promise to his disciples, fulfilled on the day of Pentecost, the whole history shows that it related to an extraordinary dispensation, demonstrated by the gift of tongues and other miraculous endowments. But were there no holy and good persons before the day of Pentecost? And if there were, could they have been so without the grace of God? It is easy to see how these questions are to be answered. Now, setting aside these extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, you will not find a single place in Scripture in which there is attributed to him any thing further than the dispotions of the mind, which are essentially good and virtuous. I will mention two texts in particular—Galatians v. 22, and Ephesians v. 9.

It is evident that no desire to abound in such dispositions as the above, and no thoughts presenting themselves to that effect, can give disturbance. All thoughts which produce this are from some other cause. What that may be, it is not always easy to say. It is at least sometimes owing to a disordered state of the humours of the body. Be the cause what it may, I should suppose that when the understanding is convinced of there being no connexion of such intrusive suggestions with real religion, efforts may be made for the repelling of them. And such efforts

we may reasonably hope to be successful, under the divine blessing; which, no doubt, ought to be at all times and fervently implored.

If no imaginations of the mind, besides those immediately tending to virtue and goodness, are to be ascribed to the Holy Spirit, much less are any which impel to any thing wrong, or draw off from any duty. I will not suppose that this remark can be applicable to you, any further than as such a state of mind may be in danger of interfering with your domestic duties. And even if these should be performed, so far as exterior arrangement is concerned, yet if you should be rendered a less eligible companion in wedlock, this itself would be sufficient evidence of the misnaming as the operation of the Spirit what is in direct contrariety to it.

I presume that in your reading, and even within your short experience in life, you must have become informed of much absolute wickedness which has been perpetrated, and of many extravagant and ridiculous projects which have been engaged in, merely from the notion that an extraordinary impression on the mind must be from God. But such an impression is as much a warrant to one person as to another. And therefore there is no way of escaping the very worst of the consequences, but to consider it all as delusion. So far as we feel our minds conformed to the holy requisitions of the Gospel, or any drawing in us to the same, we can never err in ascribing it, with all gratitude, to the grace of God. In regard to the ordinary affairs of life, we act agreeably to his will when, in subserviency to religious ends, we are regulated by that rational nature which also is a gift from him. What cannot be reduced to one or the other of these standards, must be error.

With my respectful compliments to Mr ———, I remain, dear madam, your obedient humble servant,

WM WHITE.

September 30, 1811.

My Dear Madam:

I have received your letter of the 9th instant, with sincere sorrow for the state of mind which dictated it, yet with hope that it has not proceeded to the extent of precluding the exercise of your judgment, which I am sure, if permitted to govern, will counteract your feelings.

I hesitate not to give my decided opinion, that your ideas of duty, in the instances stated by you, are delusive; and my reasons are as follows:

You will not find an instance in the New Testament of a woman's being called to the ministry of the Gospel. Here a distinction should be taken between this and the exercise of supernatural gifts in the Gospel age, agreeably to the prophecy in Joel ii. 28, 29. And that this was carried into effect in some instances, although at that period only, appears from a few places, especially the 2d chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. In regard to the ordinary ministry, and in succeeding times, how happened it that both St Paul and St Peter, who give instructions concerning ministerial duty, and of whom the former speaks

much of ministerial qualification, never express themselves in such terms as give the idea of female associates in that vocation? St Paul, in the very epistle (ch. xiv. 34) in which he regulates the exercise of supernatural gifts in both sexes, yet, with an implied reservation of that case, prohibits female preaching. I am aware of the turn given to this, of its merely forbidding impertinent talking and questioning. But it is evident, in the connexion, that the apostle's precepts rested on ground peculiar to the sex; and therefore cannot allude to what would be improper in either man or woman. The same sentiment is repeated in 1 Tim. ii. 11.

There may be use in sustaining the sentiment, by reference to a religious society among us, in which there are many respectable people, and among them connexions of your own. Their principle is precisely that of a motion in the mind of the party, whether man or woman, impelling him or her to the office of a preacher. In the infancy of this society, the principle was strictly adhered to. But after the day of George Fox, the disorders occasioned by it, which, under his eye, are said to have been very great, rose to such a height that the society found themselves under the necessity of instituting an order of elders, without whose sanction no member, though of good standing, should be permitted to exercise the ministry. You will find this matter sufficiently stated in a late work, composed with a view favourable to the society, and in high esteem with them—"Clarkson's Portraiture," under the head of "Religion," chapters 10 and 11. Mr Clarkson says that this regulation took place "out of imperious necessity." But how can there be what the individual is authorized to consider a divine impulse, over which, however, there must be an exterior control, to prevent its being extravagant in the extreme?

To show you to what lengths such notions may proceed, I will remind or inform you, that history abounds with narratives of the most shocking effects produced by a full persuasion of the mind that it was actuated by divine impulse. I will mention two instances. One is that of the Anabaptists in Germany, soon after the reformation. From what I have read of these people, I fully believe that they thought themselves commissioned to abolish, by violence, the tenures by which property was held. The other is that of Venner, and upwards of one hundred associates, who, soon after the restoration in 1660, and in consequence of what they thought a divine call, sallied out under arms in the streets of London, in order to give a beginning to the personal reign of Christ on earth: that being the time when they expected it was immediately to take place. This mad project they attempted in the face of a veteran army, who soon cut them to pieces. Let it not be said that these things are irrelevant to the case of a person who aims at nothing contrary to morals or to law. They go to show that the principle itself is delusive, although it should produce absurdity only, and not crime.

But, both crime and absurdity out of view, a serious question arises as to the dereliction of duty. When St Paul instructed married women

(1 Timothy v. 14) to "guide the house," and (Titus ii. 4) to "love their husbands and their children," he delivered duties from which he does not seem to have recognized a dispensation in a call to leave both husband and children in order to preach the Gospel. And that these two matters may materially interfere, hardly requires a proof.

I have a few remarks to make on your citation of Matthew x. 37, 38.

First, the question at present is of the reality of your call; and not of what would be your duty on the presumption of it. Next, read over the chapter, and remark the unequivocal evidence contained in it of the excessive pertinency of the instructions to the crisis of the first propagation of the Gospel. And again, revolve the whole series of what is contained in the New Testament, and consider whether there be a single instance of a person called to the ministry, of whom it does not appear, from circumstances, that he received the commission immediately from Jesus Christ, in his bodily shape on earth, or from his apostles, either immediately or in succession, instead of under an impulse of the mind.

I have given you, dear madam, my objections to the erroneous sentiment resting on your conscience. Earnestly recommending a resistance of it, and with my prayers that it may be with effect, I remain, with my respectful compliments to your mother and to Mr ———,

Your affectionate, humble servant,

WM WHITE.

Philadelphia, August 2, 1819.

My Dear Madam:

Your late letter to your mother has been communicated by her to me; and it has given me grief to find that you are revisited by an affliction which gave the occasion to our former correspondence. It is your wish that I would again address a letter to you. I cannot decline compliance; although I can do no more than repeat the sentiments formerly expressed. My doubts of being of service to you at present arise, not from my presuming that my former communications had not some little beneficial operation, but from the persuasion that it must have been formerly, and with the hope that it may be again, after the ceasing of a bodily disorder with which you were then, and I am persuaded are now, afflicted.

I could astonish you with details of cases which have come under my observation of the effects of the nervous system in disorder, not only in fanciful opinions, but in the affirming of unfounded facts. Let there be given a single case as a specimen. In an early period of my ministry there applied to me a man with unequivocal marks of horror of conscience; the result, he said, of the sinful state in which he was living; having at present a wife who was a pious and virtuous woman, but not knowing that his former wife was living in a distant country. There is no need to trouble you with all that passed between us. Suffice it to state that the man died a few months afterwards in a very happy state of mind. The day before his death I administered to him the communion;

his wife, a communicant of the Lutheran church, receiving with him. He confessed the delusion of his former statements; and I found the truth of the story to be, that his first wife had left him with a soldier in the seven years war, had gone to the country mentioned by him, and was known to have died there. My supposition is, that his nervous system being disordered, from some cause unconnected with his former wife, the unhappiness of the recollected crisis returned on him, when destitute of such a self-possession as to admit of distinguishing between reality and the visions of the imagination.

In this narrative you will discern many points materially different from your case. I claim one point only in which they agree. It is, that a nervous disorder has revived in your mind a subject which pressed on it in your days of freedom from that complaint. The subject, appearing in your letter to your mother, is the opinion of a divine call to be prominent in such active labours for the extension of the Gospel as would render you lost to the duties lying on you as a wife and a mother. What those duties are I need not recite; but I will entreat you to peruse them with prayer, and with notice of their high sanction, and of the explicitness with which they are delivered.

What is there to oppose to the precepts enjoining those duties? There is an impression sometimes supposed to be divine. Is the impression more forcible than that which incited the fifth monarchy men of England, or the Anabaptists of Munster to deeds of blood? Is it more so than that which reconciled Cromwell to the murder of his king? For whatever may have been the hypocrisy of his character in some respects, there are facts which prove him to have entertained the opinion that there was a divine call in every incitement produced in his mind with power—especially in the act of prayer; and this was his plea in the case of the king. For how long a time was there such an incitement on the mind of Ravaillac, until it caused him to plunge a dagger into the breast of Henry IV. of France. If it should be imagined that the assassin was insane, this is disproved by the consequent investigations, and by his trial. There is no danger of such an issue in your case; because the incitement will not take place but in harmony with the constitutional character of the party. Still, the source of the delusion is the same as that which may be perceived, not only in the cases referred to, but in many professors of religion, who, in consequence of natural temper or of education or of counteracting principles, are in no danger of hurting their fellow men in life and in limb.

In the lives of Mr John Wesley and of Mr George Whitfield, you may perceive much of their conduct and of their preaching to have been the result of impressions; which they acknowledged with grief in the later periods of their lives. Let there be only one fact mentioned of the latter of these gentlemen. On the birth of a son, he conceived that he had a divine communication, that the boy would be a conspicuous preacher of the Gospel. His early death put a period to the delusion.

Both of these men confided in an inward call to preach doctrines directly opposed to those taught by the people called Quakers; and yet how many of these latter carry on their work, on the same persuasion of immediate illumination. It is not intended to speak of either of these descriptions of people with disrespect, or with doubt of their sincerity. But what a strange representation do they conjointly give of the Divine Being, as if his inspiration were the source of opposite persuasions respectively possessing them, that there rested on them the duty of traversing countries with conflicting declarations of his will!

In opposition to any opinions or purposes which may still disturb you, in consequence of impressions supposed to be made by the Holy Spirit, I will briefly state what I take to be the scriptural doctrine of inspiration; although it will be only a repetition of what I gave in a former correspondence.

Our Saviour, before he left the world, gave to his disciples the promise of an extraordinary agent, who should guide them into all truth, and bring all things to remembrance; and further, should endow them with power from on high. That the inspirations of this agent thus promised, are not the same as the teachings of a monitor alleged to be within all men, is evident from there being the precise date of the commencement of the former, and from the ceasing of their attendant powers after the apostolic age. On there being put out of view all the passages of Scripture appropriate to this subject, you will find none from which we are warranted to affirm the influences of the Holy Spirit in ourselves, other than such as appear in Gal. v. 22, and Ephes. v. 9. On this ground I do not hesitate to affirm that in proportion to your possession of the graces referred to in those passages, and to the effect of them in your discharge of your duties to your family and to the world, you are led by the spirit; and, on the other hand, that any opinions which you may entertain, not deducible by reason from existing circumstances, are visionary; and that if they lead to the neglect of any duty, they are sinful: although in this case I do not take on me to judge how far the sin may be lessened by error or by prejudice. Bodily disease, if it be the sole cause, relieves from the charge of sin. What should be done for the cure of the last mentioned calamity, I do not undertake to prescribe. It falls within the province of the physician.

Thus, my dear madam, I have complied with your request; and whatever may be the fate of my sentiments in the point of influence, I will not doubt of their being accepted as evidence of my good will. Assuring you of my best wishes, and of my prayers for your recovery of a tranquil state of mind, and with my respectful compliments to Mr ———, I am

Your affectionate, humble servant,

Wm WHITE.

P.S. While engaged in writing this letter, I received from the post-office a pamphlet of twenty-seven pages, addressed to the president of

the United States: detailing to him the impressions and the visions of the writer, one Robert Stokes; all of which he supposes himself to have received from above. I do not question his sincerity; having seen so much of this sort in connection with the full persuasion of the party.

Letter to C. W., intended also for J. F., then in Harvard University: designed to guard them against Unitarianism and Infidelity.

Philadelphia, October 25, 1822.

My Dear Young Friend:

I will not admit the supposition that you consider your temporary distance from this city as a discontinuance of your connection with the pastor of the congregation of which you have hitherto been, and of which all your ancestors have been members, ever since their settlement in Pennsylvania. It would be still more disagreeable to me to imagine, that under your present sensibilities, occasioned by the lamented decease of your very worthy father, the presenting of religious sentiments to your mind will be thought either obtrusive or unseasonable.

You will probably suspect, and I shall not deny, that I am the more disposed to the present measure, from the apprehension that you may be drawn from the faith of our Church by the fashionable cast of religious opinion in the respectable seat of learning in which you have been placed.

As the gentlemen who govern it are said to profess not to take measures to influence the youth to their peculiar opinions, I would be far from suggesting any thing to the contrary: but I know that the effect may be produced, incidentally, on those who are in the way of occasionally hearing statements made by or from them not intended for accidental hearers, but designed for the sustaining of their own doctrine.

It is impossible, that within the compass of a letter I should go over the ground of controversy between us and them. Neither would it be proper for one of your early age. But it will not be unsuitable to remind you of the faith into which you were baptized, agreeably to the last injunction of our Saviour to his apostles, as found in the 19th verse of the 20th chapter of St Matthew's Gospel; and to intimate to you that if, before your competency to a deliberate and unprejudiced inquiry, you should take up with any notions irreconcilable to the clear sense of that high commission under which the Gospel, as there directed, has been preached to the world, it will be done by you under a very heavy responsibility.

Do not imagine that I am imposing on you the obligation of believing any doctrine on no other ground than that of its having been professed by your forefathers, or as resting on any human authority: but I present to you as the dictate of a sense of imperfection, the reasonableness of not being drawn from any faith without taking the means of satisfaction resulting from the immense importance of religious truth and duty. Under the weight of this principle, you will never permit the subject to oc-

cupy your mind otherwise than in alliance with sincere desire to know the truth, and with determination to receive and to live agreeably to it when known, and with prayer to the Source of light for direction in so momentous a concern. For although you have no warrant to look for an extraordinary illumination ; yet, so much are our judgments influenced by our habitual states of mind, that we are never safe from error, except when we possess dispositions assimilated to the truth ; which are ascribed, in Scripture, to a divine agency, known only from its influence on the heart and the life.

I will freely disclose to you the principal heads of objection pressing on my mind against the Unitarian doctrine ; that is, what is so called, by usurpation of a style belonging equally to the faith against which it is set in opposition. My objections are the result of much reflection and observation ; not mixed with hostility to any individual of those who call themselves Unitarians. On the contrary, there are some of them whom I respect and esteem.

My objection against their construction of the passages of Scripture in the question between us, is not merely that it is forced and arbitrary, but that it places the writers of the Scriptures under the reproach of laying snares to idolatry, in what was designed by them for its overthrow : for that the various countries which received the Christian revelation considered it as embracing the truths which we inculcate, is a fact as well established as any in history. Especially in the initiatory ordinance of our religion, they considered its being done in the words above referred to, as essential to the validity of the act. This fact is evidence against the evasion of the force of the words, by alleging that the apostles did not use the form, and by quoting to that effect two places in the Acts, where they are said to have baptized "in the name of the Lord Jesus." In every writing, the connection is interpretative of the sense. Now in those two places, the object in view is to distinguish Christian baptism from that of John ; for which end, there was no need to recite the prescribed form : from this there never was a departure in any part of the Christian world, until found necessary by the Socinians, as essential to their theory.

Although the paramount authority with us is that of Scripture, yet it could not have happened that the churches, throughout the world, should have received as undoubted truths what must be seen, on examination, to be not those. If other matters, resting on tradition, have been incorporated with those truths ; it is foreign to the argument. What has been held at all times and in all places, especially among bodies of men not connected by any other ties than unity in faith and practice, as was the condition of the Christian church for some centuries, can hardly be a corruption of the code. The weight of this consideration is entirely against the pretensions of what is called Unitarianism ; and is additional proof that, if this theory be correct, the Scriptures have not answered the end for which they have been bestowed.

For this reason, it is not to be wondered at, that the system has been found to be an absolute rejection of revelation: a point on which the less is to be said, as it cannot be proved without dragging individual characters into view. I believe the fact to be as stated, but must leave the test of it to personal observation.

Certain it is, that, so far as this has been exercised by me, the theory has been perceived to be less promotive of piety than its opposite. In the investigation of this there should be, on each side, no consideration of those, who, although called of the denomination, are notoriously loose to the duties of religion. In regard to those who are in earnest, to bring into view particular characters would be indelicate, and might be traced into uncharitableness. It ought not to be offensive, in either of these respects, when I declare, that so far as my personal acquaintance extends there have not been observed, in the contemplated communion, the like devout affections to those which are known, in innumerable instances, among the professors of what I consider as "the faith once delivered to the saints."

While I entertain a wish for your preservation from the error in question, I am not insensible to another danger you may encounter, that of being prejudiced against the Christian religion, by perceiving it liable to such opposite interpretation. This would be unreasonable; since the matter was unavoidable, unless it had pleased the Divine Being to reveal his will through some other medium than that of language, or he had altered the cast of the human understanding. The same difficulty, from the same causes, hangs over human constitutions; the essential principles of which are perceived generally, while the details become subjects of litigation: and this is precisely the case with the Christian revelation; unless what is called Unitarianism be correct; for then the Scriptures have been a sealed book, to almost all for whom they were designed.

The common error of those young men who open their ears to the seductions of infidelity, is their taking up the objections brought against the Christian religion, without attention to the positive evidences on which it rests. On this ground, there is not a truth of what is called natural religion, in regard to which you may not be shaken, by an ingenious atheist; and hence it is that there is no writer against Christianity who has not more or less controverted some of those truths which the wisest men have considered to be impressed in indelible characters in the constitution of things. Therefore, your attention ought to be directed to the positive evidence; and what I have to say on this point shall be principally from the hope of its being remembered by you, when approaching to the time of life exposed to the danger of infidel opinions, and when you shall have laid in such a stock of knowledge as will fit you for an investigation of the subject. At the same time I do not consider what is to be said as irrelative to the more immediate design of this letter, since I must still contemplate seductions to infidelity in the plausible dress of alleged Unitarianism.

The miracles recorded in the Scriptures, besides the usual evidence of historic fact, have had durable effects on laws and on manners, while any grounds on which they have been denied have been transitory: each species of objection giving way to some other, which has had no more permanency. The last ground taken was that of David Hume, but was so completely done away by Dr Campbell of Glasgow, that his book was never replied to by Hume or by any other person. Not long before, the miracles and other contents of the Old Testament in particular, had been attacked with ridicule by Voltaire, who was as silent as Hume has since been, under answers promptly made, and convicting him of shameful error and misrepresentation. Be assured, that if any man of talents of the present day should exercise his ingenuity against the Christian religion, he will no more have recourse to the objections of Hume and Voltaire than they would have committed their reputation on the grounds of Bolingbroke, Shaftsbury and others, or than those would have used the weapons transmitted to them by the heathen philosophers who wrote soon after the age of the Gospel, who yet were men of high literary reputation.

The argument from prophecy, while it reaches back to the beginning of the world, and shows innumerable instances of wonderful consent with history, calls our attention to scenes now existing, such as the gradual extension of the Gospel, tending to prevalence over the world, the singular state of the Jewish nation and the land of their ancient residence, the rise and long duration of the Mohammedan and the papal impostures, and the lasting desolation of some flourishing cities, as those of Babylon and Tyre.

The precepts of the Gospel, and their superiority over every thing of the sort, especially in their coming home to the bosoms of people in the lowest ranks, have been the theme of praise with all who have at heart the moral cultivation of our species: and yet they proceeded from men who possessed no such opportunities of improvement as those of the sages of antiquity.

What adds to all these considerations, is evident to those who take a comprehensive view of the whole volume of Scripture, and the bearings of its several parts on one another, who may perceive a contemplated chain of dispensations, running through a long series of events, to be brought about by the virtues of some men, and by the vices of others, who lived in different ages, and who were so various in their characters and their habits that the issuing in the known result is to be accounted for only from the providence of God, overruling the purposes of men, to the accomplishment of his high designs.

It is related of that prodigy of learning, the late Sir William Jones, that after his death there was found written on the blank leaf of his Bible something to this effect: that for depth of knowledge, for sound sense, for useful history, for specimens of the beautiful and the sublime, and for

sage instruction, he had found in his inquiries nothing comparable to the contents of that book. In opposition to such a testimony, like what had been given before him by a Bacon, a Newton and a Locke, what are the cavils of such a sciolist as Thomas Paine, and the whole herd of writers of the same profane cast? And yet I was credibly informed in England concerning Sir William Jones, that he went to India a sceptic, and became a believer in the Bible by the discoveries which he made in the east of the truth of the Mosaic history; and of this he has left evidence in the volumes of the Asiatic Society, established under his superintendence in Calcutta.

On the mention of the blasphemer Paine it occurred to me to add, that if his impieties have been detailed since the unanswered exposure made of them by the late Bishop of Llandaff, it has been in such a form as to show them designed, not for men of letters, but for the canaille of radicals in London and Westminster; and hence the prosecutions which we read of at the present time.

In your progress to manhood, you will occasionally hear religion treated with levity, and probably with profaneness: in opposition to which it will be well to have your attention awake to the fact, which you may find verified by your reading and your observation, that it is a subject which has a bearing on all the concerns of men. There will be a more specious, but equally deceptive source of danger, in the allegation, in respect to the Christian religion, that your only concern with it is its morality. In opposition to this, a little acquaintance with the world may convince you that the morality of the Gospel, when severed from its leading truths, is not influential in any considerable degree.

It is time to bring this long letter to a conclusion; which shall be by putting up my prayer to Almighty God that he will guide you into all necessary truth; that he will preserve you through the temptations which cannot fail to assail you in a world so full of sin; and that he will will fix your faith on so firm a foundation as shall prepare you to enjoy with innocency whatever share you may possess of the blessings of life, bear with patience and resignation any of its troubles which may overtake you, and at last fit you for a better state of things, when whatever concerns the present shall be no more. From yours,

Very affectionately,

WM WHITE.

P.S. You will probably conjecture, and it is true, that I have written at the request of your worthy mother; whose concern for you is of course increased by the late afflictive dispensation, and whose happiness is more than ever dependent on what you are to be in future. But it could not escape my recollection that your cousin, and fellow student, ought to be equally the object of my solicitude. On this account, I request you to communicate to him what I have written.

Philadelphia, October 25, 1822.

My Dear Young Friend:

I have this day written to your cousin, and fellow student, a letter containing sentiments which I am desirous of bringing before your mind also. The reason of their being addressed to him in particular will be seen in the postscript to the letter. I trust that they will be not the less acceptable to you from their coming through another, at a crisis which renders him an especial object of sympathy.

That your literary improvement may be a compensation to your worthy mother for your temporary removal to such a distance from her, and especially that your religious principles and conduct may not receive injury from that circumstance, is the wish and prayer of,

Yours, affectionately,

WM WHITE.

Letter to Miss ———, with some Books.

September 16, 1828.

Dear Miss ———:

In compliance with your request, and conformably to my promise, I send a few small works for your perusal. They contain the essential truths of the Gospel, in a small compass, and not carried out into the many metaphysical refinements which have been the inventions of men, and rather incumbrances on the truth, than subservient to it.

I recommend your paying of particular attention to the work of Mr Scougal. He was a Scotch divine, when Scotland was Episcopalian; but, to the universal regret of the then Scotch Church, was taken to the church in heaven, at a very early period of his life, and after having given promise of great usefulness, as well by his deep piety, as by his extraordinary attainments.

You are welcome to retain the two tracts marked 1 and 2, also Bishop Mann's Explanation of the Catechism; as I have duplicates of them: I think Bishop Mann's work the best under its name within my knowledge. I am

Your affectionate, humble servant,

WM WHITE.

Cautionary Letters to a Young Lady, by her Pastor, in reference to the danger of being drawn into the Communion of the Roman Catholic Church.

LETTER I.

My Young Friend:

I am credibly informed of the endeavours now in operation to effect your conversion to the Roman Catholic church. It is my intention to ad-

dress to you some letters tending to caution you against such an issue. They will not be swelled by argument calling for a measure of learning disproportioned to your age, and seldom found in your sex. But while they will be limited to matters not requiring the knowledge of books besides such as may be easily consulted by you, and the understanding of which is not beyond the attainments of persons of your standing in life; I shall address what is to be said to your conscience, conducting itself under the influence of prayer, and under a sense of your responsibility to God for the result.

I am the more solicitous to press this consideration, because of the improper use made of the concession of Protestants, of the possibility of salvation within the pale of the Roman Catholic Church. This she affirms to be impossible, under the circumstance of a severance from her: as is at least implied through the whole course of the Council of Trent; and is positively affirmed by Roman Catholic authors generally. In the distinction thus made, the opinion of Protestants has been misunderstood. So momentous are some of the differences between them and the Roman Catholics, that the latter cannot be conceived of as secure against the charge of fundamental error, except by the extension of charity, in tenderness to long established error, or the prejudices of education: this, perhaps, considered as countenanced by St Paul, where he says, "the times of this ignorance God winked at." But charity herself cannot give her countenance to the plea, when it is used to justify the giving of a sanction to opinions which strike at the leading truths of the Gospel, in contrariety to better knowledge; and of course with regard to objects not to be pursued consistently with Christian integrity. To say, that by acting on such a principle there is no endangering of salvation, would be a surrendry of the truths "once delivered to the saints."

It will be to the purpose to caution you against the qualifications of Roman Catholicism, industriously spread for the divesting it of the most offensive of its errors. Such softenings, in countries in which Roman Catholicism has an undisputed sway, would bring the propagators of them into the fangs of the inquisition. There are only three of them which shall be treated of in the four following letters. They are: the adoration of images; that offered to departed saints; transubstantiation; and the exaltation of the papacy. These points, however qualified they may be with the view of making converts, are essentially in contrariety to the truths of Christianity, and cannot be conformed to consistently with a correct conscience.

With the design of addressing you on these points, I am,

YOUR AFFECTIONATE PASTOR.

LETTER II.

My Young Friend:

The subject of this letter is the worship of images. The Roman Catholics are industrious in propagating, that they do not worship the wood

or the stone, but look beyond these to the adorable object represented by them. This is not true, as to the worship permitted, and even sanctioned by their church. It may be true of this person or of that; and of you, should you be entangled in the snare laid for you. But it has no bearing on the question of communion with a church which tolerates such idolatry, provable in credible and uncontradicted facts, abounding over the Christian world, of images opening their eyes, shedding tears, and manifesting other signs of intelligence. Independently of innumerable testimonies to this effect, it may be sufficient to refer to the celebrated image in Loretto; in which city, the street leading to the chapel has been always occupied with shops, for the sale of materials certified to have touched the image, and therefore deriving virtue from it. During the recent devastations of the French in Italy, many are the instances of their having destroyed the mechanisms, and exposed the artifices of these superstitions: and with whatever impiety the deeds may have been accompanied, truth ought not to disdain to avail itself of the detections of imposture.

The Council of Trent affirms that the worship is to be transferred to the object represented. Yet they declare honour to be due to the images themselves; and they prescribe that there shall be the suppression of all abuses. Now in drawing the line of discrimination between use and abuse, it is reasonable to bring into view what was practised at the time of the council, and continues to the present day, without even an endeavour for the suppression of it.

The Roman Catholic church has exercised a natural policy in transferring the second commandment from its proper place, and in attaching it to the first; although they are different subjects, and ought to retain their separate stations. Their diversity appears in the instance of the golden calf, fabricated by Aaron. It was an image, but intended to be a representative of the one true God, as appears in the proclamation of Aaron—"To-morrow is a feast to the Lord." The same may be remarked of the two calves set up by Jeroboam, in Bethel and in Dan. It was a political project, to prevent the resort of the ten tribes to the altar in Jerusalem. Still it was with the annunciation—"Behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." Here was the worship of God through the medium of an image. But however desirable the severing of the two commandments, it did not prevent a stumbling block to the people, in there being continually presented to their eyes a prohibition of image worship, which no ingenuity can explain away. Accordingly there is, consistently, an omission of it in their catechisms.

It nearly concerns you, on this most interesting of subjects, to consider what the Old Testament records, of the interpositions of a divine agency, to sustain, in one nation at least, the worship of the one true God, without the intervention of creature worship. We cannot doubt that Noah and his sons carried with them from the ark a correct theology. Hence it has happened, that in examining the creeds of ancient nations, you will

find them worthy of the godhead, in proportion as you ascend to that source; even improvements in science and in civilization, being so far from checking the propensity to idolatry, that it increased with their advancement. The patriarchal and the Jewish creed would have been borne down by the torrent, but for the interference, from time to time, of immediate communications from Heaven, by which there was continued among them the knowledge of the exclusive right of the Deity to the homage of his creatures, unto the coming of the blessed person, in whom dwelt "all the fulness of the Godhead bodily."

In opposition to such overwhelming authorities, what are those which Roman Catholicism brings from Scripture, in defence of its invading of the divine prerogative? They are so irrelative, that the mere advancement of them is a disproof of the point to which they are directed. Let there be a recital.

It is thought worth while to plead the worship paid by the Israelites to the brazen serpent, on looking to which they were cured of the wounds which real serpents had inflicted. It is true that this abomination grew out of the perversion of a divine command. But it was put an end to by good king Hezekiah; not without contempt poured on the instrument of the idolatry.

Jacob's worshipping "on the top of his staff," at the crisis of his decease, is altered to "the worshipping of his staff;" and this is effected by taking an ancient Greek translation in preference to the original Hebrew.

Another tortured authority is in the ninety-ninth Psalm—"worship at his footstool." The Roman Catholics translate it—"worship his footstool;" for which their only authority is a Latin version made long since the apostolic age.

The two cherubim, made by Moses, are mentioned to the same effect; which is not to the purpose; the divine glory, when manifested, being not between the cherubim, but over the mercy seat. Besides, the place was the holy of holies, to which the people were not admitted, but only the high priest, and he only once in the year.

I rest it on your conscience to estimate the weight of these pretensions, compared with the very many passages, equally explicit with what we read in Deut. iv. 7. "Take ye good heed, lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of male or female, the likeness of any beast that is on the earth," &c., to v. 19.

Be assured of its not being without a view to a moral use that precepts of this sort are so many and so explicit. There is no human frailty more conspicuous than that which tempts to the excluding of the contemplation of that attribute of God, which we call his omniscience, extending its jurisdiction to the inmost recesses of our hearts, and exercising its dominion over our thoughts. You are not without a measure of the knowledge of the history of ancient nations; and you would do

well to enlarge it, with a view to this object. You will find that on the re-peopling of the world, after the flood, the knowledge of the true God, brought by Noah from the ark, was for a while continued by his descendants in the seats of their various settlements, until it was gradually polluted by the intermixture of idolatry ; the issue of the propensity which has been mentioned ; or, as it is expressed by an apostle, "because they did not like to retain God in their knowledge." The Chaldeans, the Egyptians, the Persians, the Greeks and the Romans were, all of them, more pure in their theology in the earliest periods of their existence than in the later when they became advanced in science : for it is a remarkable fact that this had not the effect either of a check or of a cure of a degeneracy so contrary to the dictates of reason, when they are not counteracted by the sinful propensities of the heart. What is suffered and even favoured by Roman Catholicism, is the revival of the corruption of heathenism ; and to both of them there may be alike applied the censure passed on them in Scripture, of offering homage to pretended objects of it ; which "have eyes and see not, ears and hear not, hands and handle not."

LETTER III.

My Young Friend :

From the worship of inert matter, I pass to that offered to those who were once men and women like ourselves. They are now said to be in heaven. The Scriptures speak of an intermediate state, in which the righteous wait for the consummation of bliss in body and in soul ; and the wicked are suffering from former guilt, anticipating the judgment of the great day. Here is a truth, than which there can be none clearer in Scripture, or in the early fathers. But after some hundreds of years from the beginning it was dropped, for the purpose of elevating former saints to a resemblance of those gods and goddesses who had been displaced by the holy genius of Christian doctrine. It is a retrogradation which must be accounted for from the already mentioned propensity, of withdrawing from the notice of the eye which is "in every place, beholding the evil and the good."

There is not put out of view the distinction imagined between two species of worship, of a higher and a lower grade ; and expressed by two Greek words, which apply respectively. This was an after-thought, called for to cover an obtrusive species of worship. The Bible knows nothing of any grade of this to be offered to former men and women, however holy may have been their lives, or whatever may now be their condition.

It rests with your correspondent on credible testimony, that in this city there is sedulously propagated the notion denying the worship of saints in any sense. We do not pray to them, say some ; we only solicit them to pray for us. This may pass in our country ; but in some

countries it would bring, as was said before, into the fangs of the inquisition.

Supposing, although not granting, that the fact is as affirmed; what warrant can there be for the imagining that they are so near to Deity as to possess the knowledge of our thoughts? There is none; and this is implied by the Psalmist (lxv. 2); where he introduces as an incommunicable attribute, "thou that hearest the prayer, unto thee shall all flesh come."

But the fact is not as is affirmed. There are prayers offered to those who were once mere mortals, in books published under Roman Catholic authority, and sold in Roman Catholic bookstores of this city: prayers for the best blessings which we can derive, or the divine benignity can bestow. As a sample, I will only refer you to a book under the name of "The Pious Guide." [The edition noticed is that published in New York, in 1808.] On a single page (p. 176) there are three prayers to the virgin Mary, fully to the present purpose. In the first of them, she is addressed in these words, "in the hour of our death illustrate and strengthen our souls with the knowledge of the true faith, that they be not prevented by error or pernicious ignorance." In the second of the said prayers, is this language, "so instil into us, at the hour of our death, the sweetness of divine love, that all bitterness at that time may become acceptable and pleasant to us." And in the third we read, "I supplicate thee, O mother of the eternal world, to adopt me as thy child, and take upon thyself the care of my salvation." Here are these and other prayers for that grace which, according to the Bible, the spirit of God only can bestow. Therefore, while we joyfully comply with what the holy virgin was inspired to foresee, when she uttered the memorable words, "from henceforth all generations shall call thee blessed," we may think it not unreasonable to believe that the providence of God has transmitted to us the said saying, as providing limits to which the veneration due to so illustrious a personage should be restrained.

In the book referred to, it is not to the virgin Mary alone, in the list of saints, that there is prayer for something more than what is involved in intercession. In the invocation of others, petitions of this sort are incidentally introduced. For instance, in a prayer to be offered to St Joseph, the husband of the virgin, the petitioner is not only made to choose him for his "lord and master," but to say, "assist me in all the actions of my life;" and how this can be done but by that kind of assistance for which we ought to look to the highest source, it is difficult to perceive. What is still stronger, there is in the prayer to St Aloysius, "receive me as thy client and obedient servant, and assist me in the pursuit of virtue and learning. Nourish and increase in me a purity of body and mind. Turn off the snares laid against my chastity; ward and defend me against the dangers of the world; inspire my heart with a true and filial confidence in the ever blessed Virgin Mary," &c. If

there could be any need to carry your attention to books beyond "The Pious Guide," it would be easy to recite to you various invocations to saints from other authentic documents. I am aware of its being to be seen in authors of the most established reputation in the Roman Catholic Church the censuring of such devotions; and the pleading that the church is not answerable for the indiscretion of them. But is she not answerable for the presentation to her children for their use of such means of "worshipping the creature," if not more than the creator, yet as on a level with him in the possession of attributes which should be considered as his exclusively? So far as respects the virgin Mary, there is the absence of even this plea. No Roman Catholic writer, it is here believed, has censured the direct invocation of her aid and her protection. For a cover to this there is invented another Greek word; intended to denote a species of worship intermediate between that exclusively due to God and that permitted to be offered to the saints.

LETTER IV.

My Young Friend,

The next subject to which I invite your attention is the enormous doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, known under the unscriptural name of transubstantiation: a name not heard until obtruded on the church about twelve hundred years after the life and the death of her adorable head. It would seem impossible, were not the fact within our knowledge, that what people perceive by their senses to be bread and wine is flesh and blood, changed to them by a religious invocation. That they are these sacramentally, as a picture is called by the name of the man whom it represents, is not to be denied: but that our Saviour, when he instituted the eucharist, held in his hands his body not yet offered on the cross, is not properly a mystery, but an impossibility; which even revelation cannot require us to believe. Revelation itself rests on the contrary supposition: since the miracles of our Saviour and of his apostles are rested on the evidences of the senses; which may have been deceptive in regard to the miracles, on the supposition of deception in the case in question. Figurative language admits of explanation from circumstances, under the interpretation of common sense. Our Saviour calls himself in one place a door, in another a shepherd, and in another a vine: the senses of which are discoverable in the purposes for which they are severally introduced. When he calls the bread and the wine his body and his blood, immediately after the celebrating of the passover, the language was in analogy with that applied to the latter institution. The only real passover was in Egypt. The annual passover was such in figure only. So the body and the blood of Christ were offered once for all on the cross. The representation of them in bread and wine takes their name in figure or sacramentally. To suppose that the substances of them are changed, and that the proper-

ties remain, is in contrariety to all those appeals to the testimony of the senses which abound in the Scriptures.

You will still see the less reason to build such an extraordinary doctrine on the positions, "this is my body," and "this is my blood," if you should call to mind the many similar sayings of Scripture from which no such inferences are drawn. We read, "the good seed are the children of the kingdom;" "the tares are the children of the wicked one;" "the harvest is the end of the world;" "the reapers are the angels;" "the seven stars are the angels of the seven churches;" and the "seven candlesticks are the seven churches." In all these instances, and so in the language in question, material objects are representative of spiritual.

What should of itself be a sufficient disproof of the doctrine, are the comparatively modern usages naturally accommodated to it, but of which it will not be pretended that there are any appearances until above a thousand years after Christ. Such are the elevation of the host, by the officiating priest, the people's adoration of it, and its being carried annually in solemn procession, on a festival day appointed for the purpose. If the notice of this should seem to carry you aside from your course of reading, it is because you may be satisfied of the fact by proposing it to any intelligent and candid pursuer of the work of making converts. To the same test there may be committed the position that much of what is comprehended in Roman Catholicism was the product of certain false decretals, which had unlimited sway through ages, but which no Roman Catholic critic will now risk his reputation in defending.

Under a knowledge of the premises I commit to your conscience to determine whether you can, without sin, prostrate yourself in an act of adoration of what your senses of sight, of touch and of taste manifest to be bread and wine. Be assured, that the God who has said, "I will not give my glory to another," when deceased men and women are the contemplated objects, must be at least as tenacious of his prerogative in reference to inert matter given for our use, and not for such manifest abuse.

LETTER V.

My Young Friend:

The only remaining point to be brought before you is that of the papacy. With seekers of converts of the present day there is nothing which they more endeavour to press on those who listen to them than that the belief of Roman Catholics has no dependence on the pope. But does he not lay claim to this? Has it not been often exercised by his predecessors, in dispensing with the observance of oaths; in the approbation of massacres; in the deposing of princes, and in the inviting of their subjects to murder them? When any of these enormities have been practised by an individual, has it ever been visited by papal censure? You know enough of history for answers to these questions. In

France the public authorities and the mass of the people have always distinguished between the temporal and the spiritual power of the popes; yet this was no shield against the more ardent popery of such men as Clement and Ravaillac, when the former attempted the murder of Henry III., and the latter accomplished that of Henry IV. In England, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, the Roman Catholics attended in the churches of the establishment, during ten or twelve years, and until forbidden by the pope; and although, after that, they disapproved of the deposition and of the incitement to treason, yet to these were reconciled the consciences of some, prompting them during the whole of the reign of the queen to endeavour to take her life. Every person who confesses the authority of the pope in spirituals gives occasion to such atrocities, however little the intention.

But besides, there take place occurrences in which it is difficult to discriminate, and to pronounce how much is to be attributed to the spiritual authority and how much to the temporal. The pope being a temporal prince, the interests of his states are very much affected by the fluctuating politics of the European powers; and it would be too much to expect from human nature, that when he is combined with some sovereigns in hostility to others, there should not be a bias to his cause in the mass of a population who consent to his authority in the concerns of their souls. It is opposite to the clearest dictates of patriotism to be subject to authority of either sort, extraneous to that under which we live, and to which we are enjoined in Scripture to be subject.

The Roman Catholic Church boasts that she is the mother and the mistress of all other churches. Here are two pretended facts, of which you are a competent judge, without having recourse to any other history than that of the New Testament. In reference to the character of mother, we have there information of various churches, without the least hint that they were planted by the Church of Rome. On the contrary, St Paul tells the Corinthians (1 Cor. iv. 15) that he had "begotten them through the Gospel." In other places it appears that he had planted many of them without aid of the Church of Rome, and without dependence on her. In the said Epistle to the Corinthians (i. 36) the apostle demands, "went the word of God out from you, or came it unto you only?" How much more plausible would have been the pretence of the Church of Rome to the character of mother had such language been applied to her, and not to the Church of Jerusalem; which never asserted jurisdiction beyond its bounds, notwithstanding the undisputed fact, that when the Saviour issued the command for the preaching of the Gospel, it was with the circumstance, "beginning at Jerusalem."

I am aware that the papacy founds its pretensions on St Peter's being called the rock (Matt. xvi.) on which Christ was to build his church; but there is put out of view what is said in the next chapter but one, of the building of the church on all the apostles. It helps the opposite cause but little to plead what is said in John xxi. 15, 16, 17, concerning

the feeding of the sheep; as if there might not be seen the thrice giving such a charge and its being addressed especially to St Peter, in the recollection of his having thrice denied his Lord, and to be a security against his having of confidence in himself in future.

Here I end my letters to you. The principles sustained in them might be extended to other points in the Roman Catholic creed; such as purgatory, penance as distinguished from repentance, and confession to a priest as of obligation, and extreme unction to dying persons; for no one of which will you find any authority in the Scriptures. If you were to extend your inquiries beyond Scripture, which is not your duty, you would find them showing their heads some ages beyond that of the apostles, and matured by the increasing ignorance and corruption of the times.

I conclude with my prayer that you may continue secure in "the faith once delivered to the saints," and that you may adorn it by Christian conversation, to the comfort and the joy of

Your Pastor.*

Letter to his Grandson, George H. White, when about to sail, as Midshipman, in the United States Sloop of War Vandalia.

December 12, 1828.

My Dear George:

When we parted, it was with the expectation, on my part, of seeing you again before the sailing of the ship. I shall be disappointed; and therefore adopt this method of bidding you an affectionate farewell; and of assuring you of the interest which I shall take in your future prosperity and good conduct.

Besides the uncertainty of life, under all circumstances, my advance in years reminds me of at least the probability of my not witnessing your return to my family. It is one of the blessed effects of our holy religion, that we are encouraged by it to look forward to a reunion, where separation will be known no more. The nearer I approach to the time of my departure from this world, the more I find satisfaction in occasionally looking back on separations which were subjects of great grief to me; and produced temporary absence, but now perceived to be nearly at an end. I allude to those who were dear to me, during their lives, long since terminated, and whose virtues I contemplated as a preparation for a better state: and here I will mention, that if before my decease there should be any thing in the conduct of you, my dear grandson, threatening a contrary issue to your course of life, it will greatly embitter the small remainder of my days.

There will be no way of being secure against this, but by beginning

* These letters are without date, but from the handwriting and the paper appear to have been written at a very late period of the Bishop's life.

under the sense of the obligations of religion. It is a strong proof of our being bound to this by the great Author of our nature, that there is a tendency of the human mind to look up to him in times of danger and of distress. This is always the case, unless when there has been a systematic abandonment of all belief of the existence of such a being; or else of his noticing of our actions and our concerns. In this case, dreadful is the issue: there being nothing to bear up the mind under misfortune; which, for want of such a resource, is productive of despondency and despair, or, what is worse, of the abandonment of all upright principle.

Beware, my dear boy, of giving a beginning to this progress, by profaning the name of that great Being. In some cases, it is difficult to draw the line of distinction between mere frailty, and those sins which cut off from the mercies of God: but of the profane swearer it may be pronounced, without a doubt, that he cannot have such a reverence of the being and of the perfections of God, as is the only motive to virtuous conduct, further than what may arise from prudential considerations; which will never be sufficiently powerful for the resistance of very strong temptation. For this reason, be very careful how you conduct yourself, in any of your social intercourses, in which you may hear religion treated with levity. I would be far from inciting you, at your time of life, to undertake the office of a professed reprover. But you may, at least, avoid participation; and may even go further, manifesting dissatisfaction by your reserve. Even circumstances may occur where a remark, seasonably made, may not be inconsistent with the modesty of youth.

It will probably happen to you that irreligion will take the shape of a distinction between an acknowledgement of God, and faith in the Gospel. Be assured, that in a practical point of view, this is a distinction in name only. Look at those who make it; and you will find no evidence in their conversation, or in their conduct, that they are living in acts of adoration. It is a mere excuse for the living without the control of any religious principle or feeling. You have been baptized into the religion of the Saviour; and as surely as that it is divine, if you should abandon it, you will be responsible, at the bar of God, for the grounds on which the apostacy will have happened. You are too young to enter on this subject in the way of theological disquisition; but not to remark the ill effect of infidelity on morals: and although it is a foundation on which it is too common to endeavour to erect a literary reputation; yet it may be affirmed with confidence, that from the beginning of the Gospel to the present day, the men the most eminent in the various departments of science have held, that the system rests on a basis which cannot be shaken, consistently with the acknowledged laws of evidence; and that its morality is the most perfect that has ever been published to the world.

There would be no danger of erring in this matter, if men would always conduct their investigations under the influence of the habitual exercises of prayer to God for his grace, and of thankfulness for his mercies—a duty suggested by our natural sense of our weakness, and of our depend-

ence on supreme power. Under cessation of this duty, there is no foreseeing into what sins we may be seduced. Let me therefore entreat you to be conscientious in this matter; and especially never to begin the day without prayer to God for the protection of his providence, and for the guidance of his grace; nor to end it, without thankfulness for his mercies, and committing yourself to his holy keeping.

Remember that in proportion as we possess sensibility of our natural weakness and even impotency, we shall look up to that heavenly aid, without which we have no good desires, and are incompetent to any good work; and the more we are aware of the evil of sin, we shall avail ourselves of that door of mercy, which is laid open to our repentance, through the mercy of God, in a Redeemer.

My dear George, I have brought together, in haste, a few remarks; praying for the blessing of God in them; that they may help to conduct you on a more dangerous sea, than that on which you will embark in the Vandalia—the sea of temptation; and further, that on the one hand, in the event of future prosperity, it may be to you a ground of religious gratitude; and on the other hand, if you should fall into adversity, they should direct you to what are the only sources of consolation in life and in death.

I am much pleased with your captain; and promise myself that he will be as a father to you. On your part, I trust and believe that there will be respect and obedience. Throughout my life, I have had occasion to remark, that the most apt to resist reasonable authority, are the most apt to show themselves tyrants in the exercise of power.

It will also be of no small importance to make yourself agreeable to your companions in duty: not by compliance in any sinful practices, if there should be any, which, be assured, will not conciliate their esteem or lasting friendship; but by good offices, as occasions may occur; and especially by avoiding all reasonable causes of offence.

Once more, my dear George, farewell. May the blessing of God be with you. Within a few days you will be at a distance from me; but not distant from the affection or from the prayers of

Your grandfather,

WM WHITE.

THE END.

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These two volumes are to be used in conjunction. The one is devoted to Translation, the other to Pronunciation; which arrangement is deemed an improvement on the ordinary mode of comprising the distinct and independent objects of study, Translation and Pronunciation, in the same Volume, and on the same Page.

The *Interlinear French Reader* contains an Interlinear literal-and-free translation of all the *Prose* in the *Pronouncing French Reader*, comprising about two-thirds of the latter volume. The Lessons commence with short and simple Fables, and proceed, by easy progression, to varied selections from the finest Prose Writers in the French language. Fundamental rules, to which frequent reference is made in the text, are placed at the end of the volume; while foot-notes give the literal meaning of all such words as cannot be rendered literally into English sense. As the pupil advances, these helps are gradually withdrawn, so that a knowledge of all that has preceded is requisite to a competent rehearsal of his lesson.

The *Pronouncing French Reader* contains a system of Pronunciation, which is entirely new, and singularly simple and effective. It is believed to be the first attempt which has been made to communicate a knowledge of French pronunciation on scientific principles; and it conforms, as far as possible, by a Running Pronunciation at the head of the page, &c., to the plan which has been made familiar to every one in Walker's English Pronouncing Dictionary. This volume consists of Selections, both in Prose and Poetry; and is divided into Four Parts, to accommodate the progressive nature of the instructions on Pronunciation. The first three Parts consist entirely of Prose, and contain the whole of the text of which an Interlinear translation is given in the *Interlinear French Reader*. The Fourth Part comprises a Selection of Extracts from the works of the best French Poets, preceded by a short Treatise on the Reading of French Poetry. To this Fourth Part there is no translation; and the Treatise on Reading French Poetry, and the Notes, are given in French: as the pupil, when he has advanced thus far, is supposed and expected to be able to read French, assisted only by his Grammar and Dictionary.

Collot's Pronouncing and Interlinear French Reader may, therefore, be said to enable a pupil, if he study with attention, to pronounce, read and understand, any French which his teacher or his own taste may select for him; although entirely ignorant of the language, when he commenced them.

V. & VI.

COLLOT'S FRENCH DIALOGUES AND PHRASES, with an English Translation; consisting of numerous Conversations on Familiar Subjects, and a well-selected Collection of Idioms and Proverbs. The whole calculated to facilitate the study of the French language; and particularly the Art of Speaking it. Third Edition. And,

COLLOT'S FRENCH ANECDOTES AND QUESTIONS, written in easy style: Intended as a Reciting and Reading Book for Schools; and especially, in conjunction with "Collot's French Dialogues and Phrases," as a Guide to French Conversation. Third Edition.

These Conversational *French Dialogues* bring into use the ordinary colloquial language of polite society. A sustained connection of idea, and the dramatic form in which they are cast, render them easy of acquisition. The pupil, when he has committed to memory ten or twelve of these Dialogues, will have made some progress in expressing himself in French; and will then call into play the *Idioms and Proverbs* which he will find at the end of the volume, by introducing them, as occasion offers, in his attempts at original conversation.

The pupil is now prepared for another step. Let him then take the volume of *French Anecdotes and Questions*, and make himself familiar with the incidents of one of the Anecdotes, without regard to the words in which it is narrated. He will now recite the anecdote to his Teacher, in the best French which he can command at the moment; who will aid him, if embarrassed for want of a word. When the pupil has recited the anecdote, let the teacher ask him Questions on it in French, and require immediate answers to them in the same language. The Second Part of the volume consists of *Questions*, prepared for this purpose.

This course of study is to be continued throughout the two volumes of *Dialogues and Phrases*, and of *Anecdotes and Questions*; and although the pupil may stumble a little at first, he will be surprised and delighted to find, ere long, that he has, almost insensibly, acquired the enviable accomplishment of speaking French.

Such is the method of using these two volumes pursued by the Author; and his success under it has been most signal and flattering. Those, however, who may find it inconvenient, will conform to the ordinary plan. By any mode of instruction, these *Dialogues and Phrases* will be found decidedly preferable to unconnected Colloquial Phrases; and have been already extensively so used. The volume of *Anecdotes and Questions* has also been successfully introduced into Schools as a Reciting and Reading Book; for which, from the fascinating nature of the contents, it is well calculated. The Questions, under this mode of using the book, might be given to the pupil as an exercise, and written answers in his own French required.

PUBLISHED BY

Kay & Brother, Philadelphia; and C. H. Kay & Co., Pittsburgh.

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